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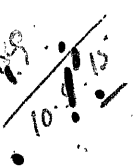
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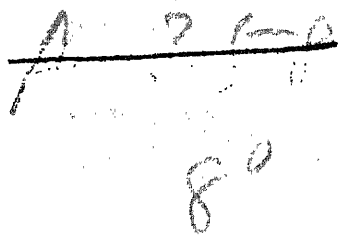
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LE VOYAGE
DE
L'AMBASSADE HOLLANDAISE DE 1656
A TRAVERS LA PROVINCE DE CANTON.

PAR C. IMBAULT HUART,
Consul de France.

AVANT-PROPOS.

S'il est un livre ayant trait à la Chine qui a eu au XVII[e] siècle un succès mérité, c'est, à n'en point douter, celui dans lequel Joan Nieuhoff a enregistré le voyage de l'Ambassade de Pieter de Goyer et de Jacob de Keizer, envoyée en 1656 auprès de l'empereur de la Chine par la Compagnie Orientale des Provinces Unies, à l'effet de solliciter la liberté du commerce pour les Hollandais.

Joan Nieuhoff fit partie de l'Ambassade précitée en qualité de *eerste Hofmeester*, premier intendant ou Maître d'Hotel : il devint plus tard *Opperhooft* ou chef, directeur de l'établissement hollandais à Ceylan. Il était loin d'être un esprit ordinaire : le récit qu'il a donné des faits et gestes de l'Ambassade, la description qu'il a faite des provinces que celle-ci a traversées, de Canton à Péking et vice-versâ, les détails qu'il a recueillis sur les mœurs, coutumes et industries des Chinois, tout montre jusqu'à l'évidence qu'il était un narrateur fidèle, un observateur fin et sagace doublé d'un lettré. Il avait en outre un certain talent de dessinateur, et les vues qu'il a prises et publiées sont en général exactes, et, selon le mot technique, *illustrent* avec fruit le texte de son œuvre.

Celle-ci a été jugée ainsi par Caleb Cushing, Ministre des Etats Unis en Chine, dans un article qui a paru dans le *Chinese Repository*, et ce jugement ne peut qu'être ratifié dans toute sa plénitude : "this work, though drawn up by the *Maître d'Hotel* of the embassy, may well compare, both in regard to the interest and value of its matter, and the style of its narration, with any of the works produced, in later times, by the several embassies of the Russians, and the English, and the second embassy of the Dutch themselves, not excepting even the works of the elder Staunton, of Barrow or of de Guignes. It is distinguished, withal, by a painstaking and business-like fidelity of relation, which leaves nothing unexplained, either of a political or of a miscellaneous nature, which came under the observation of the embassy." [1]

Les diverses éditions de la relation de Nieuhoff et les traductions plus ou moins exactes qui en ont été faites en anglais, en allemand, en français et en latin, témoignent de l'accueil favorable qu'elle a rencontré à cette époque dans le public d'Europe. Le texte hollandais en fut publié pour la première fois en 1665 par Jacob van Meurs, libraire et graveur (Boekverkooper en Plaatsnijder), à Amsterdam (1 vol. petit in folio ; voir le titre dans la savante *Bibliotheca Sinica* de M. Cordier, colonne 1134). Deux éditions de ce même texte parurent, également à Amsterdam, en 1670 et en 1693 : M. Cordier les cite aux colonnes 1134 et 1135 de son ouvrage ; une autre édition hollandaise, Anvers, 1666, parait avoir echappé à ses investigations. [2]

[1] *Nieuhoff's Narrative of the Legation of Dutch Ambassadors to Peking*, by a Correspondent (Caleb Cushing). *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, p. 393.

[2] En voici le titre d'après le catalogue de Karl W. Hiersemann, Buchhändler und Antiquar, Leipzig, qui en possède un exemplaire (Katalog No. 141, Asien, 1894. p. 78, No. 1290) : *Nieuhof, J., het Gezantschap der neêrlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den Keizer van China — waarin degedenkwaerd: geschiedenissen, die onder het reizen* 1655-57 *zijn voorgevallen, beschrijv. v. der Sinesche steden, regeering, hantwerken, zeden, drachten, etc.* Mit Portrait, 33 Taf. u. ca. 120 Kupferst. im Text. fol. Antwerpen, 1666. Ldr.

J'ai sous les yeux un exemplaire de l'édition de 1670 que m'a obligeamment prêté M. le Dr. Schrameier, Consul d'Allemagne à Canton.

On trouve en tête du volume, après le frontispice et le titre en rouge et noir, le privilège signé de Joan de Witt,[3] 1664, et un joli portrait gravé en taille-douce de Joan Nieuhoff (sur le titre, *Nieuhof*). Viennent ensuite la dédicace (Opdracht) à Hendrik Dirksz. Spiegel, Bourguemester de la ville d'Amsterdam, Directeur de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, et à Cornelis Witsen, ex-Bourguemester d'Amsterdam, Directeur de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, etc. (elle est signée par Hendrik Nieuhof, frère de l'auteur), les armes de Spiegel et de Witsen, une carte donnant l'itinéraire de l'Ambassade à travers la Chine, les provinces de l'empire, la Corée et une partie du Japon.

L'ouvrage est divisé en deux parties : la première est intitulée *Nauwkeurige Beschrijving van 't Gezandschap*, etc., *Exacte relation de l'Ambassade*, etc., et comprend le récit du voyage (pp. 1 à 208), la seconde porte le titre de *Algemeene Beschryving van 't Ryk Sina* (description générale du royaume de Chine) et traite de la géographie, de l'histoire, des coutumes, etc., de la Chine (pagination spéciale, pp. 1 à 258).

Une édition française parut la même année que la première édition hollandaise (1665) : on peut en voir le titre dans la *Bibliotheca Sinica* de M. Cordier, colonne 1135. Ce n'est pas une traduction, c'est un arrangement, une adaptation du texte original. Celui-ci, ainsi qu'on lit au titre, a été "mis en françois, orné et assorti de mille belles Particularitez tant morales que politiques" par Jean Le Carpentier, Historiographe. "Le gros de cèt œuvre, dit ce dernier dans la préface, est basti

[3] Frère de Cornelis de Witt. Tous deux, ainsi qu'on sait, furent massacrés par la populace au moment de la conquête de la Hollande par les armées de Louis XIV (1672).

sur le Journal du Sr. de Nieuhoff, Maistre d'Hostel de l'Ambassade que Messieurs de la Compagnie des *Provinces Unies* ont depuis peu dépechée vers l'Empereur de la CHINE. Ce personnage proteste par ses écrits qu'il n'a rien avancé dans les cinq premières Provinces qu'il a traversé (*sic*) avec ses Maistres, que ce qu'il a veu de ses propres yeux, ou appris de la bouche des Mandarins, et des Seigneurs qui les accompagnèrent jusques à la Cour de l'Empereur. Pour les dix autres Provinces (y jointe la Description générale du même Empire, qui avec les dernières Guerres des Tartares font notre Seconde Partie) ce que l'on vous en rapporte en bref, est tiré tant des remarques du même Autheur que des diverses Relations dignes de foy. La pluspart des Tailles douces exhibées dans cétte œuvre sont gravées sur le crayon et le pinceau du dit Autheur, qui s'est estudié de representer les païsages, et tirer avec exactitude le plan des principaux endroits par où il a passé. Quant au reste, ajoute-t-il, si vous y remarquez quelques digressions et saillies, elles n'y sont mises que pour ceux qui se plaisent à la moralité et à la recherche de la diversité de tant de façons de vivre que l'on observe en cét Univers."

Cette pseudo-traduction reproduit le frontispice de l'édition hollandaise, mais le portrait de Nieuhoff y est remplacé par celui de Colbert (belle gravure en taille douce) auquel elle est dédiée par Jacob de Meurs: "A Monseigneur Colbert, Chevalier, Baron de Seignelay, Conseiller ordinaire du Roy, Ministre d'Etat, Surintendant des Maisons royales, Intendant général des finances, et du Commerce de France, etc." Elle a été imprimée à Leyde pour Jacob de Meurs, "Marchand-libraire et graveur de la ville d'Amsterdam, 1665." Le "Privilège du Roy, signé par le Roy en Son Conseil" est contresigné de Foucault. La carte (titre en hollandais, français et latin) est la même que celle des éditions hollandaises. Les gravures de celles-ci sont également reproduites, à quelques exceptions près.

Les deux parties du volume sont intitulées "*l'Ambassade de la Compagnie* Orientale des Provinces Unies," etc., (pp. 1 à 288), et "Description générale de l'empire de la Chine" etc., (134 pages, pagination différente). La table analytique des matières, que renferment les éditions hollandaises, n'est pas reproduite à la fin de cette adaptation.

Une traduction latine a été faite par Georgius Hornius, professeur d'histoire, et publiée en 1668, avec portrait de Nieuhoff, chez Jacobus Meursius (Jacob de Meurs), Amsterdam. Je n'ai pas pu en examiner d'exemplaire (Cf. Cordier, col. 1136).

John Ogilby "Master of his Majesties Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland" fit paraitre à Londres, en 1669, une traduction,—qui n'est pas toujours une *Belle fidèle*,—de la relation de Nieuhoff (pour le titre complet, voir Cordier, *loc. cit.* colonne 1137). Elle reproduit la carte, le frontispice et les gravures des éditions précitées. Le Privilège est de Charles II, contresigné par Arlington. Voici les titres des parties qui composent le volume.

An exact relation of the Embassy sent by the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham or Emperour of China, pp. 1 à 146.

A general description of the Empire of China, pp. 149 à 327.

A Narrative of the Success of an Embassage sent by John Maatzuyker de Badem, General of Batavia, Unto the Emperour of China and Tartary, etc., etc., written by a Jesuite in those Parts, pp. 1 à 18 (pagination différente).

An appendix or special remarks taken at large out of ATHANASIUS KIRCHER *his Antiquities of China*, pp. 1 à 106 (pagination différente).

L'exemplaire que j'ai sous les yeux appartient au Canton Club, H. 103.

M. Cordier cite en outre une autre édition anglaise d'Ogilby (col. 1137), des traductions allemandes (col. 1136) et des traductions résumées dans les Collections de l'Abbé Prévost, Thévenot (col. 1136), Astley (col. 1133) et Pinkerton (col. 1138).

L'objet du présent travail est de suivre l'ambassade hollandaise dans son voyage à travers la province du *Kouang-toung* par le Peï-kiang[4] ou Fleuve du nord, de l'embouchure de la Rivière de Canton à la Passe du Meï-ling[5] qui sépare le *Kouang-toung* du *Kiang-si*, d'identifier les noms d'endroits, de rivières, de montagnes, etc., donnés par Nieuhoff au cours de son récit, de contrôler et de compléter le cas échéant, à l'aide d'ouvrages étrangers et chinois, les renseignements fournis par cet auteur. Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que nombre de détails, puisés aux sources chinoises et épars dans cette sorte de commentaire, sont entièrement inédits, et, par suite, de nature à projeter de nouvelles lumières sur cette partie de la Chine en général, et, en particulier, sur le cours du Fleuve du nord, fragment de la grande voie de communication qui pendant des siècles a été la seule route reliant Canton à Peking par le *Kan-kiang*, le lac *Po-yang*, le *Yang-tse-kiang*, le *Yun-ho* ou Canal Impérial et le *Peï-ho* ou rivière de *Tien-tsin*.

Dans ce mémoire, je citerai de préférence, comme de raison, le texte français de Jean Le Carpentier, mais j'aurai soin de recourir au besoin à l'édition hollandaise de 1670 et à la traduction anglaise d'Ogilby. Pour abréger les renvois, je désignerai par Ed. A, le texte de Le Carpentier, par Ed. B, l'édition hollandaise de 1670, et par Ed. C, la traduction d'Ogilby.

[4] 北江 *Pak-kong.* Les prononciations Mandarine et Cantonnaise seront données après tous les noms cités dans le cours de ce travail.

[5] 梅嶺 *Môï-leng.*

Les ouvrages chinois auxquels j'ai eu recours sont: 1° le 廣東通志 *Kouang-toung t'oung-tche* ou Description générale de la province du *Kouang-toung*. (Notice dans le *Chinese Repository*, XII, p. 309); 2° le 廣東圖說 *Kouang-toung t'ou cho* ou Explication de la carte du *Kouang-toung* (Cf. Hirth, *The Peninsula of Lei-chou*, *China Review*, Vol. II, p. 151); 3° le 廣東圖 *Kouang-toung t'ou*, Atlas officiel du *Kouang-toung*. Leurs titres seront cités respectivement en abregé ainsi qu'il suit: T. T. (*Kouang-toung t'oung tche*); T. C. (*Kouang-toung t'ou cho*); K. T. T. (*Kouang-toung t'ou*).[6]

Avant d'accompagner, pour ainsi dire, l'Ambassade dans son voyage à travers le *Kouang-toung*, il n'est peut-être pas sans intérêt de rappeler à grands traits les causes qui incitèrent les Hollandais à entrer dans la voie des expéditions maritimes vers l'Est où les Portugais et les Espagnols les avaient déjà précédés, les efforts qu'ils firent dès le commencement du XVII^e^ siècle pour trafiquer en Chine et les circonstances qui amenèrent le Conseil de Batavia à envoyer des Ambassadeurs à Péking en vue de demander la liberté du commerce.

A la suite des entreprises lointaines, découvertes et explorations faites par les Portugais et les Espagnols aux XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles, des relations commerciales qui s'étaient en peu de temps établies avec des pays jusqu'alors inconnus et de la mise en valeur du riche domaine d'Outre-mer que les hardis et actifs aventuriers avaient donné à leurs patries, une véritable révolution économique s'était produite en Europe. De longue date, le commerce maritime avait été limité à la Mediterranée, à la Baltique et à la mer du Nord: les ports italiens, la ligue des

[6] On pourra suivre l'itinéraire de l'Ambassade sur la carte du *Kouang-toung* du Rev. J. C. Lörcher (Map of the province of Canton, 1879), qui, malgré ses imperfections, est encore la meilleure qui existe à présent.

villes du Rhin et la Hanse en avaient presque le monopole. Un nouveau et vaste champ s'ouvrit tout à coup à l'activité européenne : après les voyages des Fernando Po, des Vasco de Gama, des Albuquerque, des Cabral, d'une part, des Christophe Colomb, des Vespucci, des Magellan, des Pizarre, d'autre part,—pour ne citer que les noms les plus célèbres,—le commerce s'etait soudainement trouvé avoir devant lui l'Océan Atlantique et le Pacifique et il n'avait pas tardé à s'implanter successivement dans le sud et l'est de l'Asie, dans l'ouest et l'est de l'Afrique, et dans un continent nouveau, l'Amérique, découvert, selon le mot de Turgot, "sur la foi d'une idée."

Les résultats de la modification inattendue de l'état de choses séculaire avaient été immenses. On peut les résumer ainsi : développement des relations commerciales, création de la richesse mobilière et absorbtion par celle-ci de la richesse territoriale, Accroissement du numéraire par l'exploitation régulière des mines du Mexique et du Pérou, déplacement dans l'importance commerciale des nations, et surtout extension considérable de la marine devenue le principal élément de la puissances des peuples.

La Hollande, "pays fertile en pâturages, mais stérile en grains, malsain, et presque submergé pas la mer[7]," ne produisant presque rien, n'ayant pas de manufactures, ne pouvait nourrir de son fonds la vingtième partie de sa population. Pour elle, l'expansion coloniale était une nécessité inéluctable : au demeurant elle avait le génie maritime et un prodigieux esprit d'ordre et d'économie. Au XVI^e^ siècle, le commerce de transports en Europe faisait toute sa prospérité. Vers la fin de ce siècle, les Hollandais se lancèrent dans les entreprises lointaines, à l'exemple des Portugais et des Espagnols, dont l'empire colonial tombait en décadence ; ils

[7] Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*

s'emparèrent des Moluques, fondèrent des établissements à Java, et, en peu d'années, créèrent de riches colonies et acquerirent le monopole de la navigation maritime.[8] La compagnie des Indes Orientales, instituée en 1602, avait doublé son capital dès 1609.[9] Elle bâtissait Batavia en 1618, et, de 1623 à 1626, elle faisait la conquête du Brésil.

Ainsi que cela avait eu lieu dans d'autres régions, les Hollandais n'apparurent dans les mers de Chine qu'après les Portugais et les Espagnols. En 1601, Van Neck, jeté hors de sa route par des vents contraires, montra pour la première fois le pavillon hollandais sur les côtes chinoises, sans toutefois pouvoir y aborder. Deux ans plus tard, les Hollandais étant entrés dans la période des hostilités contre les Portugais, deux navires hollandais arrivèrent devant Macao, fondée par ces derniers, canonnèrent la ville, mais, se heurtant à une résistance sérieuse, se retirèrent après avoir détruit un galion portugais. L'année suivante (1604), l'amiral Van Waerwijk envoyait à Péking, avec l'ambassade siamoise, un de ses officiers chargé d'entamer des négociations avec la Cour en vue d'obtenir pour les Hollandais l'autorisation de venir faire le commerce

[8] Un écrivain contemporain, le Cardinal Bentivoglio, italien, nonce en France sous Louis XIII (1579-1644), a attribué les succès maritimes et coloniaux des Hollandais à quatre causes principales: "La quantité de leurs vaisseaux, l'abondance des choses nécessaires pour les fournir de tout; le nombre de leurs mariniers, et leur science en l'art de la navigation" (cité par Le Carpentier, Ed. A. p. 16).

[9] "Depuis Varinck, Heemskerck, Houtman, Rinlant, van Hauten, Couarley, Cober, Van der North (qui fit le tour du monde), le Maire, l'Hermite, Schappenhem, Heins, Bontekoe, Barentszon, Spilberg, Schouten, Pater, Raven, et autres grands capitaines et pilotes, firent paroître par leur admirables découvertes et prodigeuses conquestes qu'il n'y a rien que la vertu ne franchisse, et ils poussèrent si avant la renommée, et les armes des Hollandois, que les plus puissans Monarques de l'Univers les redoutent en nos jours, ou recherchent leur amitié.

"Leurs fameuses Sociétés ou Compagnies font beaucoup à la conservation de leur grandeur, et sont capables de faire épuiser en peu de temps les finances de leurs ennemis: ce sont des pépinières dont on tire des richesses incroyables, et des soldats avec un grand appareil de guerre, pour contester l'empire de la mer, et conserver la liberté sur la terre. Ces richesses ne leur viennent que du grand et continuel trafic qu'elles exercent presque par tout le monde." Ed. A. p. 19.

en Chine; comme de raison, ces ouvertures, si elles furent faites, n'eurent aucun résultat: l'officier hollandais augmenta inutilement le nombre des *porteurs de tribut* siamois.

La même année, Waerwijk faisait voile pour Macao, mais, assailli par un typhon, il fut obligé de mettre le cap sur les Pescadores ou îles des Pécheurs (P'oung-'hou),[10] alors peu connues. De là, il écrivit aux autorités du Fou-kien, dans l'espoir d'obtenir quelques privilèges commerciaux; sa démarche n'eut aucun succès, et, menacé par cinquante jonques de guerre, il ne put continuer les négociations commencées et s'en retourna aux Indes.

En juillet 1607, l'Amiral Cornélis Matelief, désireux d'ouvrir la Chine au commerce hollandais, arrivait avec une flotte près de Macao, prenait contact avec les autorités chinoises et, tout en négociant avec elles, mouillait ensuite successivement à l'embouchure de la rivière de Canton, puis à *Lin-tin*,[11] et enfin à *Lan-tao*[12]: il était à ce dernier mouillage, poursuivant ses pourparlers avec les mandarins, quand une flotte de six navires portugais se dirigea sur lui; il crut devoir aller jeter l'ancre à *Lin-tin* et se prépara à livrer bataille aux Portugais: toutefois, le conseil de guerre qu'il réunit s'opposant à une action navale, il dut céder, renoncer à ses projets, et il reprit le chemin des Indes Orientales.

Après cet essai infructueux, il s'écoula une longue suite d'années sans nouvelle tentative des Hollandais pour commercer avec la Chine.

[10] 澎湖

[11] 伶仃, île située entre la grande île de *Lan-tao* et le 虎門 *Hou-meun (Fou-moun)*, Porte du Tigre ou Bocca Tigris (le Bogue), entrée de la rivière de Canton. Les auteurs hollandais du XVIIe siècle écrivent *Len-teng-wan* (灣 ouan, baie de *Len-teng* ou *Lin-tin*).

[12] *Lam-thau* dans les Relations hollandaises : c'est l'île 大嶼山 *Ta-yu-chan* (*Taï-yu-san*) ou 欄頭山 *Lan-tao-chan*, à l'ouest de Hongkong.

Ce ne fut qu'en 1622, au moment où leur puissance était à son apogée aux Indes Orientales et où ils entretenaient des rapports suivis avec le Japon, que les Hollandais se décidèrent à tenter un nouvel effort sou les côtes chinoises. Koen ou Coen, Gouverneur-Général des possessions hollandaises, donna alors à Cornelius Reyersz le commandement d'une flotte de seize voiles avec mission d'aller attaquer Macao. Cette expédition échoua (juillet 1622), et Reyersz, afin d'obliger les Chinois à accorder la liberté du commerce, fit voile pour les Pescadores, s'en empara et y bâtit un fort. De là, il chercha à négocier avec les mandarins du Fou-kien. Enfin, après deux années employées à des pourparlers, à des actes d'hostilité réciproques, les Hollandais obtinrent l'autorisation de s'établir à Formose (1624). Cette île devint le centre du commerce de la Compagnie hollandaise qui ne chercha plus, pendant de longues années, à pénétrer sur le continent chinois.[13]

"Par succession de temps, dit Le Carpentier auquel j'emprunte ce passage, le R. P. Jésuite Martini arrivé de la Chine en Batavie à la faveur d'une Frégate, ou Brigantin, ayant rapporté que le Grand Cham (Khan, empereur) de Tartarie venait de se rendre maistre de ce Royaume, et qu'il avait donné la permission à tous les étrangers de trafiquer librement en sa ville maritime de Kanton, le grand Conseil de la Compagnie renouvella ses anciennes visées, et résolut d'envoyer de l'isle de Taiwan (Formose) un vaisseau bien chargé pour sonder encore une fois cét affaire. Le Marchand *Frederic Schedel*, doüé d'un esprit fort, et prudent, estant deputé à cét effet, s'embarqua sur le vaisseau nommé *Bruinvisch* (*Brunsvisch*, d'après d'autres auteurs),[14] lequel

[13] Sur cette période et sur l'histoire de l'établissement hollandais de Formose, Cf. *L'Ile Formose*, Histoire-Description, par C. Imbault Huart, Paris, 1893, 1 vol. in 4o, avec cartes, plans, dessins, etc., pp. 12 et suivantes.

[14] *Bruinvis*, Ed. B. p. 22.

estoit richement chargé de toute sorte de marchandises. Il partit donc du *Taiwan* (Formose), et au bout de neuf mois il se trouva heureusement à l'emboucheure de la rivière de Kanton."[15]

Schedel se mit sans retard en rapports avec les mandarins qui, par suite des manœuvres d'un certain portugais nommé Emmanuel de Luciefierro, lui firent d'abord mauvais accueil: toutefois, il parvint à les faire revenir de leur première impression, et à monter à Canton où il fut reçu par le Vice-roi *Pignamong*;[16] celui-ci "le festoya tres splendidement": "pour monstrer sa magnificence, il fit servir dans trente deux plats d'argent les viandes exquises, et les vins délicieux dans des vaisselles, et gobelets d'or, dont Schedel et sa suite mangerent et beurent gaillardement. Durant le festin le Vice-Roy s'informa fort exactement du Gouvernement, de la Police, et de la Puissance des Hollandois; surquoy *Schedel* ne manqua pas de luy satisfaire pertinement. Le festin estant fini, Schedel prit congé du Vice-Roy, et de tous les Grands de la Cour, et fut conduit d'un méme pas vers le jeune Vice-Roy de Kanton *Signamong*."[17] Ce mandarin "le reçut en quelque façon

[15] Ed. A. p. 44.

[16] Transcription probable de 平南王 *P'ing-nan-ouang* (*roi qui a pacifié le sud*), titre donné par l'empereur, en 1646, à 尚可喜 *Chang K'o-chi* (Cf. Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 182, No. 589), qui, quatre ans plus tard (1650), aidé d'un autre général tartare, s'empara de la ville de Canton après un siége de dix mois. A cette occasion, *Chang K'o-chi* fut créé 藩王 *Fan-ouang*, *prince feudataire de l'empire*, et, en cette qualité, continua de gouverner le *Kouang-toung* jusqu'en 1676, époque à laquelle il se suicida en apprenant que son fils 尚之信 *Chang Tche-sin* avait pris parti pour le rebelle 吳三桂 *Vou San-kouei* contre la domination tartare. *Chang K'o-chi*, que virent Schedel et Nieuhoff (on verra plus loin que ce dernier lui donne le titre de *Pignowan* 平南王 *P'ing-nan-ouang*, "*Vieil*" vice-roi, était donc en realité plus qu'un vice-r[illegible] vice-roi, portant le titre de *Signamong* (Nieuhoff, *Synowa*=西南王 *Si-nan-ouang*?), il n'était pas le fils de *Chang K'o-chi*, mais un haut fonctionnaire, placé sous les ordres du *prince feudataire*, administrant les provinces du K[illegible] du *Kouang-si* de concert avec celui-ci. (Cf. Bowra, *A history* [illegible] *province*, Hongkong, 1872, p. 94.)

[17] Ed. A. p. 45.

assez amiablement, et le traita avec pareille splendeur, mais il sembloit plustôt pancher du costé des Portugais, qui sans doute l'avoient gagné par presents."[18] La mère du "jeune Vice-roi" ayant manifesté le désir de voir les Hollandais, Schedel et sa suite comparurent devant elle "pour satisfaire la curiosité de cette Dame." En quittant le "jeune Vice-roi" ils furent conduits "dans un autre logis qui estoit à costé de la Rivière pour y passer la nuict."

Cependant les Portugais n'avaient pas vu d'un bon œil l'arrivée des Hollandais et la réception qui leur avait été faite. "Le Gouverneur et le Conseil de *Makoa* (Macao), voulans étouffer cette négociation dans sa naissance" multiplièrent leurs efforts pour desservir les nouveaux venus et pour contrecarrer leurs dessins. Ces menées ne servirent de rien, et les discours intéressés des Portugais n'eurent aucun succès auprès des autorités de Canton qui répondirent qu'elles "prenoient cét affaire tout d'un autre biais."

"Ces encombres estant ainsi finis, et tous ces faux rapports reduits en fumée, les Vice-Rois firent publier la liberté du Commerce entre les deux Nations, et donnerent permission à Schedel d'établir un Contoir perpetuel à Kanton: ils acheterent mesme une bonne partie de ses marchandises, d'où il tira un grand profit, qui toutesfois auroit esté plus grand, si toute sorte de marchands ûssent eu le privilége d'en acheter. Schedel voyant qu'apres tout il luy restoit encore quelques denrées à vendre, trouva bon à cét effet de laisser en la ville le Sous-Marchand Pierre Bolle accompagné de quatre autres.

"Sur ces entrefaites, voire à l'heure mesme que Schedel avoit pris congé des Vice-Rois, il luy survint une nouvelle, qui le frappa d'abord comme un foudre, le saisit d'un merveilleux étonnement; et l'abysma dans une profonde tristesse, craignant tout, et ne sachant que faire, ni esperer, attendant à

[18] Ed. A. 45.

tout moment la ruine et le bouleversement de son entreprise. Un Commissaire nouvellement venu de Peking, fit ressentir aux Vice-Rois qu'ils avoient tres-mal fait de permettre aux Hollandois de negocier, et d'établir leurs demeures dans un Estat, sans la connoissance et le bon plaisir du Souverain, et que s'ils vouloient se conserver les bonnes graces de leur Maistre, et se garantir de l'orage qui pouroit tomber sur leurs testes, qu'ils devoient promptement revoquer cét arrest, et congedier ceux qu'ils avoient admis. Les Vice-Rois, quoy qu'ils fussent assez clair-voyans pour reconnoistre que c'estoit là un effet de la jalousie des Portugais, qui en avoient sourdement fait informer l'Empereur, n'oserent toutesfois faire autrement que de casser, et annuller leur ordonnance, et conseillèrent à Schedel de retourner avec tout son monde en sa patrie, afin que le Roy de Batavie (ainsi appellent-ils le General) ne crût pas qu'on les avoit detenus prisonniers à Kanton. Schedel, de peur de se trouver insensiblement entre les serres de ces éperviers, et d'estre tout à coup opprimé par la chiquane et la malice de ses ennemis (je veux dire des Portugais) qui alloient renouveller la trame des vieilles accusations, et de toutes les faussetez, qui avoient ésté inventées contre l'honneur de ceux de sa Nation, fit porter tout son bagage dans son Vaisseau de *Bruinvisch*, sur lequel s'estant embarqué deux jours après (qui estoit le 19 de Mars) singla vers *Batavie*, portant quant et soy deux Lettres des deux Vice-Rois de Kanton, qui s'adressoient à *Nicolas Vorburg*[19] lors Gouverneur de *Taiwan*, par lesquelles ils l'assuroient de leur affection et bienveillance, et luy mandoient, en cas qu'il ût le désir d'avoir la liberté du Commerce dans la Chine, qu'il estoit necessaire de dépescher des Ambassadeurs vers l'Em-

[19] *Niklaas (Nicolaas) Verburgh*, Ed. B. p. 25. Verburgh fut *Opperhooft* ou Gouverneur de Taiwan de 1650 à 1653. Quelques auteurs écrivent *Verburg* (Cf. *l'Ile Formose*, p. XLV de la *Notice* de M. Cordier.)

pereur avec une suite de riches presents."[20] En d'autres termes, les Hollandais, pour obtenir l'autorisation de faire le commerce, devaient, selon les traditions gouvernementales chinoises, envoyer un *tribut* à Péking.

"Les Seigneurs du Conseil de *Batavie* estant informés de la negociation de *Schedel*, et animez par les belles apparences de reüssir dans leurs entreprises, trouverent bon d'en advertir au plustôt leurs Maistres residens és Provinces Unies. Et cependant pour ne point dormir en un si beau chemin, et prendre l'occasion par le fil, delibererent encore d'envoyer quelques vaisseaux vers Kanton. Ils choisirent à cét effet *Schedel* et *Zacharie Wagenaer*, Marchands plein de prudence et de grace, lesquels estans partis de *Batavie* avec les Vaisseaux de *Bruinvisch* et de *Schelvisch*, arrivèrent un mois après à la bouche du fleuve de Kanton."[21]

Cette nouvelle tentative eut encore moins de succès que la précédente: Schedel entama en vain des pourparlers avec les mandarins toujours prévenus par les Portugais contre les Hollandais, affirme Le Carpentier, et pendant ce temps Wagenaer fut arrêté et gardé à vue par des soldats. Peu après, toutefois, un mandarin, qui avait bien accueilli Schedel lors de son premier voyage, fit conduire les deux envoyés hollandais "en grande pompe et ceremonie en l'Hostel destiné pour ceux de leur Nation" où il leur fut dit de se "préparer pour aller à la Cour." Wagenaer pensait qu'il serait bientôt reçu par le Vice-roi; son espoir ne tarda pas à être déçu: après de nouveaux entretiens le "Truchement du Vice-Roy vint dire qu'après diverses Assemblées de plusieurs Grands Seigneurs du Conseil, l'on avait arresté, que veu que les Hollandois n'estoient pas munis de Lettres, ni de Presens pour l'Empereur en Peking, qu'on ne pouvoit pas recevoir, ni

[20] Ed. A. p. 47.

[21] Ed. A. p. 48.—*Wagenaar*, Ortographe de l'Ed. B.

écouter leurs pretensions, et que toute la faute estoit sur eux, puisqu'ils en avoient esté serieusement et clairement advertis par les Lettres qu'on avoit escrites au Gouverneur de Batavie."[22] C'était dire, en bon chinois, qu'on ne pouvait les écouter que s'ils apportaient *tribut*.

" Wagenaer lassé de tant chanter musique aux sourdes oreilles de ces Mandarins, et voyant que c'estoit vouloir puiser de l'eau dans un crible, en s'amusant à les caresser, partit de Kanton avec ses deux Vaisseaux, et revint en *Batavie*, sans autre gloire que d'avoir tenté avec toute sorte d'artifices d'etablir le commerce dans un païs étranger."[23]

Ces mauvais succès ne découragèrent point les Hollandais. Johan Maatzuiker était alors Gouverneur général des Indes Orientales.[24] "Le General Jean Maatzuiker et le Conseil des Indes en Batavie ne desisterent point pour avoir veu les Voyages de *Wagenaer* et de *Schedel* infructueux, mais prirent une forte résolution de pousser encore plus outre leurs entreprises, et de les raccommoder tout d'un autre biais. Comme ils estoient embarrassez à projetter de nouveaux moyens pour gagner les coeurs des Chinois, ils receurent nouvelle de Hollande, sur la proposition qu'ils avoient fait touchant ce dessein à Messieurs les Intendans de la Compagnie Orientale, residens à Amsterdam, leurs Seigneurs et Maistres. Cette nouvelle portoit que les Intendans avoient unanimement arresté d'envoyer une Ambassade vers l'Empereur de la Chine en sa Ville de *Peking*, et que pour l'executer avec fruit, ils avoient choisi les Seigneurs *Pierre de Goyer* et *Jacob de Keyser*,[25] se confiant totalement en leur fidelité, prudence et integrité, et

[22] Ed. A. p. 49.

[23] Ed. A. p. 49.

[24] Il occupa ce poste de 1653 à 1678 : bien que catholique, il avait été choisi à cause de ses talents, malgré l'intolérance religieuse excessive de l'epoque. Son administration fut longue et brillante.

[25] *Pieter de Goyer, Jakob de Keizer.* Ed. B. p. 27.

les rendant égaux en pouvoir, autorité et qualité. En suite de cet arrest, Messieurs du Conseil de *Batavie* se mirent en devoir de faire toutes les preparations necessaires à une celebre Ambassade. Ils choisirent d'abord quatorze personnes pour estre du train des Ambassadeurs, sçavoir deux Sous-Marchands nommez *Leonard*[26] *Lenardsen* et *Henry*[27] *Baron* ; six Gardes de corps, un Maistre d'Hostel (l'Autheur de cét Oeuvre),[28] un Chirurgien, deux Truchemens, un Trompete, et un Tambour, et puis deux Marchands, nommez *François Lantsman*, comme Chef, et *Henry Gramsbergen* comme Adjoint. La Commission donnée aux Ambassadeurs contenoit, qu'il devoient rechercher l'alliance de l'Empereur de Tartarie, ou de la Chine, et la permission de negocier librement avec tous ses Sujets dans toute l'etendüe de son Empire, et que de toutes leurs negociations ils estoient obligez d'en demander, et rapporter des Lettres de confirmation, ou de ratification, signeés, et scellées des mains et des seaux de l'Empereur, et de son Conseil."[29]

L'Ambassade emportait une grande quantité d'objets destinés à être offerts au souverain de la Chine : étoffes de toute espèce, épices, miroirs, lunettes, armures, etc. "c'eut été vouloir naviguer sans boussole ou sans étoiles, ou labourer sans Soleil, que de penser d'approcher cét Empereur sans présents." Aux yeux des Chinois, ces objets devaient être considérés comme formant le *tribut* hollandais.

"Lors donc que toutes les Marchandises, les Presents, et les Vivres necessaires à un tel Voyage furent embarquez sur deux beaux Vaisseaux nommez *Koukercken* et *Bloemendael*, les Ambassadeurs se voyant favorizez d'un vent de Zud-Est, partirent de Batavie avec tout leur train le 14. de juin 1655, et prirent leur cours vers le Nord."

[26] *Lenard*, Ed. B. p. 27. [27] *Hendrik*, Ed. B. p. 27. [28] *Joan Nieuhoff*. [29] Ed. A. p. 50.

I.—Après avoir successivement passé en vue de la Cochinchine, de l'île *d'Aynan* (海南 *Haï-nan*), de Macao, sur lesquels Nieuhoff donne des détails qui ne manquent pas d'interêt, l'Ambassade arriva le 18 août à l'embouchure de la rivière de Canton.

" Le dix-huitiéme du méme mois d'Aoust[30] nous nous trouvâmes heureusement vers le Soleil couchant dans le Havre de *Heytamon*, mais seulement avec nostre Vaisseau nommé *Koukercke* (car celuy de *Blomendael* écarté du nostre par la tempeste sur les côstes de la *Cochinchine* n'arriua icy que 48. jours apres nous) où nous moüillâmes l'ancre à six brassées et demie de fond.

" Cette place est située au pied de l'eau, et encourtinée par derrière de montagnes assorties de combes, et de vallées très divertissantes."

C'est également à *Heytamon* que Schedel s'était arrêté avant de remonter à Canton. " Au bout de neuf mois il se trouva heureusement à l'embouchure de la rivière de *Kanton*, non loin d'un lieu nommé *Heytamon* " (Ed. A., p. 44).

Heytamon est la transcription de 虎頭門 *Hou-t'eou-meun (Fou-tao-moun), la porte de la tête du tigre,* nom donné à l'embouchure du 珠江 *Tchou-kiang (Tsiu-kong)* ou *rivière des Perles* (rivière de Canton)[31] à cause des 虎山 *Hou-chan*

[30] Le 18 juillet d'après l'Ed. C., mais l'Ed. A. dit " *Op den Achtienden der zelve maant*, le dix-huitième du même mois." Or, le mois dont il a été question plus haut est le mois d'août *(Oogst-maant)*, Ed. A. p. 32. Dans le cours du récit, les dates de l'Ed. C. ne concordent pas avec celles des Ed. A. et B. Je suis le texte de Le Carpentier, qui est d'accord avec l'Edition originale.

[31] Origine du nom de 珠江 *Tchou-kiang (Tsiu-kong)* d'après le T.T. livre CI, 山川畧二: " Il y a au milieu le 海珠石 *Haï-tchou-che (Hoï-tsiu-chek, Rocher de la perle de la rivière* — 海 signifie souvent *cours d'eau* dans le *Kouang-tong*—c'est la petite ile appellée *Dutch Folly, Folie Hollandaise*, sur les cartes étrangères : elle est située en face de la ville de Canton), c'est pourquoi on dit *Tchou-kiang*." On raconte, ajoute le T.T., qu'un marchand laissa tomber jadis dans le fleuve une perle qui se changea en rocher : celui-ci fut ensuite appelé *Haï-tchou-che*. S'il faut en croire un autre ouvrage, cité par le T.T. le nom de cette ile viendrait de ce qu'elle a l'apparence d'une perle flottant sur la rivière (形如海上浮珠). Pour être exact, il faudrait dire *Fleuve de la perle* et non *Rivière des perles.*

(*Fou-san, iles du Tigre:* le 大虎山 *Tà-hou-chan, Taï-fou-san* ou *Tiger Island* des cartes de l'Amirauté anglaise ; le 小虎山 *Siao-hou-chan, Sio-fou-san*, au N.O. de la précédente) qui s'y trouvent (虎頭門以虎山得名, T.T. livre CXXIV, 海防畧二). Dans la pratique, ce nom est abregé en 虎門 *Hou-meun* (*Fou-moun*, porte du Tigre). Il a donné lieu à l'appellation de *Bocca Tigris* (ou *Boca Tigris* sur certaines cartes), *Bouche du Tigre*, dont on a fait *Bogue*. C'est de là que vient le nom de *Tigre* appliqué parfois à la rivière de Canton.

Il est à remarquer que les Chinois désignent par le nom de 海門 *Hai-meun (Hoï-moun)* ou seulement 門 *meun (moun)* toutes les embouchures des fleuves, rivières, arroyos, etc., formant ce qu'on peut appeler le delta de Canton,—magnifique réseau hydraulique,—qui se jettent dans la mer au sud de la capitale de la province. Voir à ce propos les cartes du T.T. (livre CXXIV, 海防二), du K.T.T. et du T.C., et le *Sketch map of the Chu-kiang* or *Pearl River*, par Thomas Marsh Brown, des Douanes Impériales Chinoises.[32] Le T.T. (livre CXXIII, 海防 —) donne la liste de tous ces 門 *meun (moun)*, trop longue pour être reproduite ici.

D'après la carte de Nieuhoff, le *Havre* de *Heytamon* serait la toute petite baie qui existe à l'entrée du *Tchou-kiang*, derrière la pointe du massif du 大角山 *Tà-kio-chan (Taï-kok-san)* ou 南沙山 *Nan-cha-chan (Nam-cha-san)*, appelée 大角頭 *Tà-kio-t'éou (Taï-kok-tao)*, le *Tycocktow* des cartes anglaises. (Le massif dont il s'agit, qu'il est loisible de considérer comme une île puisqu'il est séparé de la côte occidentale par un large arroyo, est à gauche quand on arrive de Hongkong au *Bocca Tigris*). Toutefois, je pense qu'il y a erreur, la baie précitée ne pouvant servir au mouillage de

[32] Cette carte, publiée d'abord dans les Rapports des Douanes, a été insérée, à une échelle plus petite, dans les *Decennial reports* (1882-1891) de l'Administration précitée, Shanghaï, 1893, p. 569.

navires d'un certain tonnage, et je croirais plutôt que le *Havre* de *Heytamon* est la spacieuse baie située en face du *Tycocktow*, entre l'île *Anunghoy* (亞 娘 鞋 *Ya-niang-chié*) et celle de *Chuen-pee* (川 鼻 *Tch'ouan-pi*), qui est appellée *Baie Anson* et *Anson bay* sur les cartes françaises et anglaises.

La vue de ce *hâvre* donnée par Nieuhoff (Ed. A., p. 63; Ed. B., p. 35; Ed. C., p. 32) semble reproduire en effet la configuration des hauteurs de *Anunghoy* et de *Chuen-pee*.

II.—A peine arrivés à *Heytamon*, les Ambassadeurs entrèrent en relations avec le "Gouverneur," quelque fonctionnaire plus ou moins important de la région, et avec divers grands mandarins venus de Canton qui leur firent nombre de questions. Le "Gouverneur" dont il s'agit les reçut le 24 août au village de *Lammê*. Je n'ai pu découvrir la situation exacte de cette localité. A dire vrai, ce nom resemble beaucoup à celui du *Lamma Island*, île située près de Hongkong, mais le texte n'indique pas que les Ambassadeurs aient fait un si long trajet pour aller voir ce mandarin. Il doit plutot être question ici d'un endroit plus voisin de l'embouchure de la rivière.[33]

Le 30 août, les Ambassadeurs furent invités à monter à Canton sur des "bateaux tous richement ornés," où l'on mit tous les présents: ils ne prirent avec eux que leur secrétaire et quatre valets. A Canton, ils furent conduits "en l'Hostellerie qui avoit par-cy devant servie à Schedel." D'après le plan de la ville que donne Nieuhoff, cette maison se trouvait en dehors d'une des portes (sans doute 靖 海 門 *Tsing-haï-meun*, *Tsing-hoï-moun*), près de la rivière. C'était, dit l'auteur, "un lieu fort magnifique et somptueux qui avoit jadis servi d'un Pagode ou Temple aux Idoles."

[33] D'après la carte en tête du volume, *Lamme* se trouverait sur la côte, un peu au dessus de *Heytamon*. Il ne faut pas se fier toutefois à cette indication, car la carte est souvent inexacte.

Là, les Ambassadeurs furent interviewés de nouveau par un grand mandarin qui, après mille questions, repondit à leur demande d'avoir une audience des Vice-rois que personne n'avait "le credit et la puissance de donner audience à aucuns Ambassadeurs, sans en avoir receu auparavant quelque ordre de la Cour Imperiale de Peking."

Le 2 septembre, le *Koukereke* monta la rivière et mouilla en face de la résidence des Ambassadeurs : dès son arrivée, ceux-ci durent "retourner dans leur Vaisseau" pour y attendre la réponse de l'empereur. Cependant, au bout de trois semaines, on leur permit "de revenir à terre avec tout leur train" et d'habiter leur premier logement où, d'ailleurs, ils furent en quelques sortes gardés à vue par des soldats. Un "festin," dont Nieuhoff donne la description, leur fut offert le 15 octobre par les deux Vice-rois : le "Vieux" portait le titre de *Pignowan* (平南王 *p'ing-nan-wang*), le "jeune," celui de *Synowa*(?).

III.—Enfin, après de long mois d'attente, les mandarins "receurent deux mandemens de la Cour : l'un contenoit que les Ambassadeurs pouvoient venir à *Peking* avec une suite de vingt personnes et de quatre Truchemens, avec commandement aux Hollandois qui resteroient dans *Canton* de ne point trafiquer en aucune façon, jusques au retour de leurs Maistres. Le deuxième mandement estoit d'une teneur plus moderée et agreable, car il portoit que Sa Majesté avoit tout à fait approuvé, et ratifié la demande des Ambassadeurs, touchant la liberté du Commerce en son Empire, à charge qu'ils luy en vinssent rendre graces et hommages à Peking." En d'autres termes, les Hollandais obtenaient l'autorisation de faire le commerce sous condition d'apporter un *tribut* à l'empereur.

A réception de ces nouvelles, les Ambassadeurs "firent leurs preparations pour pousser leur voyage jusques à *Peking*." Ils furent reçus en Audience par les deux Vice-rois et firent visite aux principaux mandarins de la ville. Puis ils assistèrent à plusieurs festins. Ils louèrent "un Vaisseau de quelque marchand et la Ville de Canton leur donna encore au nom et aux frais de l'Empereur cinquante Vaisseaux, où les Presents, avec le reste de l'equipage furent renfermés." Par *vaisseaux* il faut naturellement entendre *jonques de rivières*. Plusieurs mandarins furent délégués pour accompagner l'Ambassade.

IV.—"Le 17. du mois de Mars (1656), ayant embarqué tout ce qui estoit necessaire pour nostre voyage, nous entrâmes dans nostre Vaisseau, y fismes sonner la trompette, et déploier la Banniere du Prince *d'Orange*, et puis nous sortismes de *Canton*, pour defreler nos voiles sur la rivière de *Tai*, qui moüille les murailles de la ville. . . Nous entrâmes bientôt aprés du costé du Nord dans une des branches de la rivière de *Tai*, que les Chinois appellent *Xia*, et nos Europeans *l'Europe;* et sur le soir nous arrivames à un Village nommé *Sahu*, lequel, quoy qu'il ne soit pas des plus grands, ni des plus renommés, aggrée fort aux yeux des regardans. Il est planté au beau milieu d'une fertile plaine, encourtinée d'arbres, de côteaux, et de très-riches campagnes semées de riz, et d'autres grains. Il enferme plusieurs grandes maisons, qui servent sans doute de sejour à quelques seigneurs. Les habitants font un grand trafic, et profit des etoffes de soye, laquelle ils sçavent tistre, et soûtistre en perfection. Nous reposames toute la nuict en ce lieu, et en partismes au Soleil levant."[34]

[34] Ed. A., p. 82.

La rivière de *Taï* n'est autre que le *Tchou-kiang* ou Fleuve des Perles, nom qui n'a pas été connu des anciens voyageurs. *Taï* est la prononciation Cantonnaise de 大 *tâ*, grand. Les habitants de Canton, en thèse générale, ne se servent pas du nom de *Tchou-kiang:* ils appellent 大河 *Tâ-ho* (*Taï-hŏ*), *la grande rivière*, et même quelquefois 海 *haï* (*hoï*), *mer* ou *rivière* (car, au *Kouang-toung*, *haï* désigne souvent des cours d'eaux: témoin les noms suivants de quelques arroyos du delta de Canton: 三角海; 挂衅海; 碧鑑海, etc. etc.), le vaste cours d'eau qui baigne la cité et ses faubourgs. *Taï* ou *Tâ* n'est donc pas le nom de la rivière et provient de l'appellation vulgaire du *Tchou-kiang* (*Tsu-kong*) recueillie par les voyageurs (*tâ-ho* ou *taï-ho*, grande rivière).

En parlant de Canton, Nieuhoff dit plus haut (Ed. A., p. 68): "Elle est située au costé droit de la rivière de *Ta*, qui par ses vastes eaux pourroit meriter le nom de Mer." En fait, Canton se trouve sur la rive *gauche* du *Tchou-kiang*, en descendant ce cours d'eau, sur la rive *droite*, en le remontant.

Le Capitaine Eckeberg[35] et Du Halde[36] appellent également *Ta* ou *Ta-ho* le Fleuve des Perles. Sir George Staunton, qui faisait partie de l'Ambassade de Macartney, croyait que la rivière de Canton était le 北江 *Peï-kiang* ou *Fleuve du nord*, qu'il avait parcourus en revenant de Péking: "the city and suburbs of Canton are situated mostly on the eastern bank of the Pe-kiang river."[37]

[35] *A Short Account of the Chinese husbandry*, by Charles Gustavus Eckeberg, Captain of a ship in the Swedish East India Company's service. A la fin de "A Voyage to China, etc." by Peter Osbeck, London, 1771, Tome II, p. 276.

[36] *Description de la Chine, etc.*

[37] *An authentic Account of an Embassy, etc.* (cf. Cordier, Col. 1164) by Sir George Staunton, London, 1798, Ed. in 4°, vol. II, p. 526.

Nieuhoff se trompe sur la direction prise par les bateaux de l'Ambassade : la suite du récit montre que les voyageurs prirent, *du côté du sud*, le 花地涌 *Houa-ti-young*, arroyo ou *creek* de *Houa-ti* (*Fâ-ti*) qui se déverse dans le *Tchou-kiang* presque en face de l'île de 沙面 *Cha-mien* (*Shameen*, *surface de sable*, où sont les Concessions française et anglaise de Canton),[38] et qui communique au sud-ouest avec le *Fatshan Creek*, allant au bourg de *Fo-chan* (*Fat-shan*, 佛山鎮). Au sud-ouest de *Fo-chan*, le *Fatshan Creek*, se relie au 潭河 *Tan-ho* (*T'am-ho* ou *Tam-chau river*, d'après la carte de Marsh Brown. Le K.T.T. appelle ce cours d'eau 登洲海 *Teng-tchéou-haï* (*Tong-tchao-hoï*) qui lui-même donne accès à la branche du *Peï-kiang* venant de 三水 *San-chouei* (*Sam-choui*). Telle fut la route suivie par les Hollandais : d'abord le *Fa-ti Creek*, puis le *Fat-shan Creek*, le *Tam-chau River*, et enfin la branche principale du *Peï-kiang*. J'ajouterai que la partie du *Fatshan Creek* comprise entre le *Tam-chau River* et *Fatshan* n'est navigable aujourd'hui, pour les bateaux un peu grands, qu'à l'époque des hautes eaux (en octobre, je n'ai même pas trouvé un pied d'eau dans le *Fatshan Creek* à son confluent avec le *Tam-chau river* : la crique est assez large, mais parsemée de dos d'âne ou bancs de sable) et que, lors des bancs eaux, pour atteindre *San-chouei* par le sud, on est obligé de descendre le bras méridional de la rivière de Canton jusqu'au 平州河 *P'ing-tcheou-ho* (*Peng-chau River*),— au dessous du *Macao Fort*,— qui aboutit au *Tam-chau river*. C'est cette dernière voie que doivent toujours prendre les chaloupes à vapeur.

Plus tard, cette même route fut suivie par les Ambassades de Macartney et d'Amherst (retour de Peking), et par celle

[38] La partie du *Tchou-kiang* qui s'étend devant *Shameen*, porte le nom de 白鵝潭 *Paï-ô-t'an* (*Pak-ngô t'am*). *Etang de l'oie blanche.*

de Van Braam (aller et retour). Ce dernier, qui a publié la relation du voyage de l'Ambassade dont il faisait partie, a indiqué la direction avec exactitude : "After having quitted *Faa-ti* (*Houa-ti* ou *Fâ-ti*), or the Nurseries, we proceeded first in a southern direction for two hours, then to the westward, and at last to the north-west."[39]

Le *Fâ-ti creek* n'est donc pas une branche de la rivière de *Taï*, ainsi que le dit Nieuhoff : quant au nom de *Xin* que, d'après lui, les Chinois donneraient à cette branche, je n'ai pu l'identifier. Par "*nos Europeans*," il veut certainement dire les Européens qui venaient alors trafiquer à Canton : *l'Europe* a du être une sorte de surnom seulement connu parmi eux.

Nieuhoff ne parle pas ici du grand bourg de *Fo-chan*, (*Fat-shan*), qu'on a appelé le Birmingham de la Chine, parce qu'il y passa pendant la nuit. Il ne vit cet endroit qu'en revenant de Péking. " Quelque peu de temps après nous nous trouvâmes au village de *Faesan* (*Fo-chan* ou *Fat-shan*) qui est assis sur la rivière, et est ceint d'un territoire fort fertile et divertissant" (Ed. A., p. 233).[40] L'edition C. est plus explicite : "After a few hours sailing, we came in sight of the village *Faesan*, which appeared very pleasant and delightful at a distance. And in regard as we went to Peking, we past by this village late in the evening, so that there was no taking notice of the same ; I thought good (having now had in our return a full view thereof) to give you a draught in Print of the situation, which you have in the annexed Cut. It lyes near the River side, and has very pleasant Fields round about" (Ed. C. p. 142).

[39] *An Authentic Account of the Embassy of the Dutch East-India Company* (1794-1795), etc. (*Cf.* Cordier, Col. 1159), translated by Moreau de Saint-Mery, London, 1798, Vol. I. p. 40.—Les *Nurseries* sont les célèbres jardins ou pépinières de *Fâ-ti* (*Houa-ti*, Terre des fleurs).

[40] Nieuhoff donne une vue de ce bourg : Ed. A. p. 234 ; Ed. B. p. 198. L'Ed. C. ne l'a pas reproduite par erreur, la place qu'elle devait occuper est prise pas une vue de *Lam-tam* (*Lam-tao*) répétée deux fois (pp. 142 et 144).

Malgré son étendue, sa grande population, ses richesses, *Fo-chan* (*Fat-shan*) n'est pas consideré par les Chinois comme une ville : pour eux, une 城 ou *ville, cité*, est une agglomération de maisons, plus ou moins développée, qui est entourée d'un mur crénelé. Toute réunion de maisons, quelle qu'en soit la superficie, qui n'est pas ainsi fortifiée, n'est appelée par eux que 鎮 *tchen*, bourg. C'est ainsi qu'on appelle 漢口 *Han-k'eou* (*Hankow*), sur le fleuve duquel est située la Concession Anglaise où habitent tous les residents étrangers de ce port ouvert, bien que cette agglomération de maisons soit considérable. Il ne faut donc pas dire la ville de *Fo-chan* (*Fat-shan*,) comme l'ont écrit les nombreux missionnaires et voyageurs qui en ont parlé, mais le bourg de *Fo-chan* (*Fat-shan*).

En vue de donner une idée de cette localité, j'extrais les passages suivants du *Ling-Nam* du Dr. Henry[41] et de *Dix ans de voyages dans la Chine et l'Indo-Chine* de J. Thomson :[42]

"Fat-shan is the second city in importance in the south of China, and 500,000 people are found in its compactly-built, closely-packed houses. Manufactories of various kinds abound, producing cloth, silk, embroidery, rattan and bamboo work, porcelain, brass and iron-work. A large business is done in cassia, grain, oil and timber. The city is intersected by two canals, which furnish the greatest facility for transport. The boat traffic between Canton and Fat-shan is immense."[43]

"La ville de Fat-shan à plus d'un mille de long (1,600 mètres), et la rivière la divise en deux parties presque égales. Fat-shan est le centre du grand district manufacturier du midi de la Chine. La coutellerie et la quincaillerie y sont les

[41] *Ling-Nam or Interior Views of Southern China*, by B. C. Henry, London, 1886.

[42] Trad. Talandier et Vattemare, Paris, 1877.

[43] *Ling-Nam*, p. 59.

principales industries, ce qui fait donner quelquefois à Fat-shan le nom de Birmingham ou Sheffield de la Terre des Fleurs. . . En parcourant la ville, nous remarquons de belles maisons de briques, résidences des marchands indigènes, de temples aux façades de granit grotesquement sculptées, et le grand hôtel de la douane ; mais les maisons des faubourgs qui bordent la rivière sont bâties sur pilotis, et leurs apparence misérable contraste fortement avec les demeures princières et les signes de richesse que nous avons observés dans l'intérieur de la ville. . . La rivière est la principale voie ouverte à la circulation, et c'est par milliers que s'y croisent les jonques et les bateaux, donc les uns chargent ou déchargent leurs cargaisons, pendant que les autres transportent en tous sens les passagers le long de l'étroit chenal qui serpente à travers cette Babel flottante où règne l'éternelle discorde."[44]

Le village de *Sa-hu* (沙口 *cha-k'eou*, en cantonnais *Sâ-hao*) est au point de jonction de la rivière de *Fat-shan* (*Fat-shan creek*) avec le 潭河 *Tan-ho* ou *Tam-chau river*, à droite en se dirigeant vers le sud-ouest. Les "plusieurs grandes maisons, qui servent sans doute de séjour à quelques Seigneurs," dont parle Nieuhoff et qu'il a fait figurer dans son croquis du village (Ed. A., p. 81 ; Ed. B., p. 55 ; Ed. C., p. 47) ne sont autre chose que des 當舖 *tang-p'ou* ou *Monts de piété*. Dans la province du *Kouang-toung* ces établissements ont une forme singulière qui attire l'attention et excite la curiosité des voyageurs : ce sont de hautes tours carrées, bâties en briques, aux murs solides percés de meurtrières. Ils sont ainsi construits pour résister aux incendies et aux attaques des voleurs et pirates. Ils dominent de toute leur hauteur les maisons avoisinantes. On en voit un grand nombre dans la ville de Canton : de loin, on serait porté à croire que ce sont des petites citadelles ou des forts.

[44] *Dix ans de Voyages*, etc., pp. 178 et 181.

V.—De *Cha-k'eou* (*Sä-hao* ou *Sahu*) les bateaux des Hollandais entrèrent dans le *Tan-ho* ou *Tam-chau river*, puis dans le *Peï-kiang* (*Pak-kong*), suivant une direction S.E.—N.O. Ils remontèrent ce dernier fleuve jusqu'à 三水 *San-choueï* (*Sam-soui*), en passant devant le grand marché de 西南 *Si-nan* (*Saï-nam*)[45] dont Nieuhoff n'a point fait mention.

"Le 19. nous arrivames aux portes de la Ville de *Xanxui*, où nous jettames l'ancre. Elle est éloignée de cinquante stades[46] de *Canton*, et tient l'onziéme seance entre les petites Villes assujetties à sa Capitale. Elle est bastie au costé droit de la rivière dans une très-belle et plaisante vallée ; du costé de la terre elle a des collines et des montagnes, qui ne la rendent pas moins divertissantes. Et quoy qu'elle ne soit pas de fort grande étenduë, si est-ce qu'elle surmonte en peuples, et au commerce plusieurs grandes Villes. Nous fûmes contraints de nous arrester en ce lieu pour donner haleine aux Mariniers, qui estoient fatigués de tirer, et ramer contremont l'eau, depuis nostre sortie de *Canton*."[47]

Xanxui (*Xantsui* sur la gravure de la vue de cette ville, Ed. A. p. 82, Ed. B. p. 56 ; *Xantsin*, Ed. C. p. 47) est 三水 *San-choueï* (*Sam-soui*), ville de district (縣) située sur la rive gauche du *Peï-kiang* (*i.e.* à droite en le remontant), au confluent de ce cours d'eau et du *Si-kiang* (*Saï-kong*) ou *Fleuve de l'ouest*, à soixante milles de Canton.

La ville n'est pas bâtie au bord de l'eau : elle est séparée du *Peï-kiang* pas un large faubourg : du rivage, il faut à peu près une heure pour s'y rendre. En face de ce faubourg, où se trouvent le bureau de *Li-kin* et un poste militaire (河口汛),

[45] Le *Tsay-nam* de Van Braam, *Voyage*, etc., Tome I, p. 40.

[46] Par *stade*, Le Carpentier a traduit le *li* (lieue chinoise) de l'Ed. B. En réalité, *Xanxui* ou *Sam-choueï* est à 60 milles de Canton.

[47] Ed. A., p. 82.

il existe, dans le fleuve, une ile basse appelée 老鴉洲 *Lao-ya-tchéou* (*Lô-â-tsao*, *l'ile du Corbeau*). Les collines voisines de la ville portent les noms suivants : 七星岡 *Ts'i-sing-kang* (*Ts'at-sing-kong*), 金帽嶺 *Kin-mao-ling* (*Kam-mô-leng*), 城隍嶺 *Tch'eng-houang-ling* (*Sing-ouang-leng*), 朱祿岡 *Tchou-lou-kang* (*Tsu-lo-kong*) (*K. T. T.*, livre VIII).

Voici, d'après le *Kouang-toung t'oung-tche* (abrev. *T. T.*),[48] quelques détails sur la ville de *San-chouei* : Le Gouverneur 姚鏌題 *Yao Mô-t'i* ayant creé le district de *San-chouei* la cinquième année 嘉靖 *Kia-tsing* (1526), l'année suivante (1527) le magistrat 劉瓘 *Léou Kouan* commença la construction de la cité qu'il entoura de murs de briques et de pierres hauts d'un 丈 *tchang* : ils avaient six cent soixante-quinze 丈 de circonférence. Les portes furent d'abord au nombre de quatre : au sud, celle de 熙阜 *Chi-feou* (*He-fâo*), au nord, celle de 拱極 *Koung-k'i* (*Kong-kik*), à l'est, celle de 賓暘 *Pin-yang* (*Peun-yueong*), à l'ouest, celle de 定安 *Ting-an* (*Teng-on*). Dans la suite, on ouvrit sur le côté sud une porte qui fut appelée 文明 *Ouen-ming* (*Meun-ming*). La ville a donc actuellement cinq portes.

Le nom de *San-chouei* (*Sam-soui*) a été diversemment ortographié par les voyageurs : *San-chouy-chien* (*Voyage* de John Barrow), *San-shwuy-hien* (*Journal* de Henry Ellis), *San-choui-hien* (*Voyage* de De Guignes), *San-cheuye-chen* (*Voyage* de Van Braam).

Van Braam décrit ainsi la ville qui nous occupe :[49] "*San-cheuye-chen*, seen either from without or within, appears a very ancient place ; the houses being old, low and crazy. Most of them are shops of a very mean kind, in which eatables are exposed to sale ; and the streets, though paved with broad

[48] Livre CXXV, 建置署一.

[49] Trad. Moreau de Saint-Mery, London, 1798, Tome I, p. 41.

stones, are in a very bad condition. As for the situation of the city it is agreeable enough, being surrounded by fruitful fields of rice. At about half a league (five *li*) to the east of the city, in the midst of meadows, and upon a hill of small elevation, is an octagonal tower nine stories high."

VI.—Le lendemain, l'ambassade reprit sa route mais ses bateaux n'avancerent pas vite par suite de "la violence de la rivière, secondée par la rapidité d'une grande quantité de torrens, qui descendent des montagnes voisines." À la fin de mars, en effet, les eaux du *Peï-kiang*, enflées des pluies considérables qui tombent à cette epoque de l'année dans les hautes régions de la province, sont très rapides et l'on a peine à les remonter.

"Nous arrivâmes vers la my-nuit du 21. du mois courant à la petite Ville de *Sanyvum*. . . Cette place se void à 220 stades de *Xanxui (San-chouei)*, et estoit par cy devant fort peuplée, et marchande, à cause de son assiette sur la rivière. Mais les Tartares dans ces derniers guerres l'ont tellement ruiné, que les habitans pourroient aujourd'huy moissonner sur la pluspart de ses edifices, s'ils avoient assés de courage et de force pour y jetter de la semence."[50]

Sanyvum est une mauvaise transcription de 清遠 *Ts'ing-yuan (Ts'ing-yun)*. Cette ville de district (縣) est située sur la rive droite du *Peï-kiang*, un peu avant un petit coude que ce cours d'eau fait dans la direction de l'est. Elle s'éleve près d'une petite chaîne de collines, s'etendant à l'ouest du nord au sud, qui porte le nom de 松樹岡 *Soung-chou-kang (Ts'ong-chu-kong)*—(*K. T. T.*, livre VI). Presque en face, sur la rive gauche, se trouvent des hauteurs appelées 七星岡 *Ts'i-sing-kang (Ts'at-sing-kong)*, nom qu'on a donné à plusieurs montagnes de la province.

[50] Ed. A., p. 86. même page, vue de *Sanyvum*.

Ts'ing-yuan (*Ts'ing-yun*) est une ville assez ancienne. Dans les années 至正 *tche-tcheng* de la dynastie Mongole des 元 *yuan* (1341-1368), on l'entoura d'un mur de terre. La vingt-deuxième année 洪武 *Hsung-vou* des 明 Ming (1389) on bâtit un mur en briques ayant quatorze cents 丈 *tchang* de circonférence et un 丈 *tchang* de haut, percé de quatre portes ayant les noms des quatre points cardinaux. La septième année 天順 *T'ien-choun* (1463) la ville fut prise par les 廣西猺 *Kouang-si Yao* ou peuplades autochtones du *Kouang-si*. La deuxième année 成化 *Tch'eng-houa* (1466) un assez grand quartier qui s'etait crée en dehors de la ville fut entouré d'un mur de terre ayant quatre cent trente 丈 de tour : on appela ce quartier 新城 *la nouvelle ville*. Plus tard, ce mur fut remplacé par un mur en briques. (*T. T.*, livre CXXV.)

"Sing-yuen-hien (*Ts'ing-yuan*) has a large suburb, the houses towards the river built on piles. A large Paou-ta (pagoda) in front bears the name of the town ; it is of nine stories." (Ellis, p. 404.)

"The city of *Tsing-uen* (*Tsing-yuan*), which stretches for a mile or more along the river, is one of much importance. It is famous for its sugar, its rice, and its flies." (*Ling-Nam*, p. 121.)[51]

À trois *li* à l'ouest de la ville s'éleve une pagode appelée 鰲塔 *aô-t'a*. (*T. T.*, livre CXXV.)

VII.—A *Ts'ing-yuan* (*Ts'ing-yun*), les Hollandais prirent de nouveaux rameurs pour remplacer ceux qu'ils avaient eu depuis Canton, "lesquels ne pouvoient plus servir, à cause qu'ils estoient trop harassez," afin de les "mener le long de la Montagne de *Sang-uon-hab* très dangereuse pour ses

[51] *Tsing-yan-yeun*, Æneas Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, p. 250.

précipices, et presque inaccessible pour sa hauteur, qui est cause qu'elle est denuée de monde. On y voit au pied un petit village qui paroit aussi lugubre en ses masures qu'en ses habitants."

"S'il y a quelque chose d'admirable à voir en la Province de *Quantung*, voires en la *Chine*, c'est cette montagne de *Sang-won-hab*, laquelle éleve ses sommets d'une hauteur si prodigieuse, que ses vallons en demeurent tenebreux, à cause que l'Astre du jour n'y peut distribuer ses lumières. Au costé de ce mont, et non loin de la rivière, les Chinois ont elevé un Temple d'une très riche structure. Ce Temple a ses murailles couvertes d'une infinité de caractères, et de signes, qui donnent bien de la besogne à ceux qui s'amusent à les interpreter."[52]

Sang-won-hab transcrit 清遠峽 *Ts'ing-yuan-chia* (*Ts'ing-yun-hap*), passe de *Ts'ing-yuan*, magnifique gorge dans laquelle on entre peu après avoir quitté la ville de *Ts'ing-yuan*. Le village dont parle Nieuhoff s'appelle 白廟 *Pô-miao* (*Pak-miou*): il est situé sur la rive droite au pied des première contreforts de la chaîne de montagnes qui forment l'un des côtés de la gorge. Quant au temple situé "au costé du mont, non loin de la rivière," c'est le célèbre monastère de 飛來寺 *Feï-laï-sseu* (*Feï-loï-tseu*), également sur la rive droite, après *Pô-miao*.

La gorge de *Ts'ing-yuan* (*Ts'ing-yun*) est à trente *li* (trois lieues françaises environ) à l'est de la ville du même nom: on l'appelle aussi 中宿峽 *Tchoung-sou-chia* (*Tchong-souk-hap*). Elle renferme le 飛來寺 *Feï-laï-sseu* (*Feï-loï-tseu*) qui porte également le nom de 廣慶寺 *Kouang-k'ing-sseu* (*Kouang-hing-tseu*). C'est le dix-neuvième *endroit heureux* des livres taoistes (爲道書十九福地). Il date des années 普通 *P'ou-t'oung* de la dynastie des 梁 *Léang*

[52] Ed. A., p. 87, 88.

(520-527 de nôtre ère). A droite, se trouve une caverne ou grotte dite 和光洞 *Ho-kouang-t'oung* (*Ouô-kouang-tong*) ou 歸猿洞 *Kouei-yuan-t'oung* (*Kouaï-yun-tong*) ; au nord, il y a un précipice ou gorge, le 金芝巖 *Kin-tche-yen* (*Kam-tsi-am*) ; devant, une mare ou étang, le 凝碧灣 *Ning-pi-ouan* (*Ying-pik-ouan*) dont l'eau est pourpre foncée et verdâtre (紺碧). A gauche sont deux cascades precedées chacune d'un bassin : le 犀牛潭 *Si-niéou-t'an* (*Saï-nyuô-t'am*) ou 金鑼潭 *Kin-so-t'an* (*Kam-sô-t'am*), et le 釣鯉潭 *Tiao-li-t'an* (*Tiéou-li-t'am*). Le sommet méridional des hauteurs, vis-à-vis du fleuve, s'appelle 標幡嶺 *Piao-fan-ling* (*Piéou-fan-leng*). *Cf.* le *T. T.*, livre C, 山川畧一.

De Guignes, qui accompagnait Van Braam, décrit cet endroit pittoresque : après avoir passé *Tsin-yuen-chien* (*Ts'ing-yuan*, *Tsing-yun*), nous arrivâmes de bonne heure, dit il, à *Pe-miao* (白廟), village qui donne son nom à un passage situé entre des hauteurs. La rivière est d'une moyenne largeur ; elle est bordée des deux côtés par des montagnes en partie arides et en partie couvertes d'arbres. Sur les torrents qui se précipitent des hauteurs, et qui, dans les temps de pluie, paraissent devoir amener à la rivière un grand volume d'eau, on a construit des ponts pour la commodité des gens qui tirent les bateaux. On voit peu d'habitations dans ce passage, excepté quelques maisons bâties dans les gorges et occupées par des Chinois qui coupent de la paille. On trouve aux deux tiers du passage une grande pagode appelée *Fey-lay-sse* (飛來寺) ; elle est bien bâtie et entourée d'arbres et de plusieurs monticules sur l'un desquels une tour, suivant la tradition du pays, est venu se placer d'elle même. La pagode est parfaitement bien entretenue.[53]

[53] De Guignes, Resident de France à la Chine, attaché au Ministère des Relations extérieures, *Voyage à Peking*, etc. Imprimerie Impériale. 1808. 3 vol. 8° et atlas.

Van Braam :—"At the break of day we came to the village of *Pac-miao-san* (白廟山), situated on the western bank of the river, where we stopped a quarter of an hour to give our people time to breakfast and then proceeded through the famous pass called *Tsang-nun-hab* (清遠峽), formed by an interval between two ridges of perpendicular rocks of extreme height. While going along this passage we could scarcely perceive sufficient space for those who pulled the tracking rope. The width of the river is here about seven hundred and fifty toises ; and when the current is contrary it requires two hours to clear the passage, because in doing so it is necessary to describe lines and follow directions so tortuous, that they resemble the windings and twistings of a snake. But the aspect on both sides is noble and sublime.—In the midst of this space, to the westward, is a convent named *Fi-lauy-tsi* (飛來寺), so situated that it seems to stick against the mountain's side, amidst the thick shade of surrounding trees. The Bonzes who reside in this place have contrived to make a pretty large kitchen garden by the side of the convent, for the sake of obtaining the necessary supply of vegetables."—(Tome I, pp. 44-45.)

Thomson :—"De Tsing-yune nous allâmes au monastère de *Fi-lai-sz* (飛來寺), l'un des plus pittoresques et des plus renommés que l'on puisse voir dans le sud de la Chine. Il s'elève non loin de la rivière, et l'on y arrive par un large escalier de granit qui conduit à une porte extérieure sur laquelle sont gravés en lettres d'or les mots "*Hioh Shan Miau.*" Le monastère est bâti sur une colline magnifiquement boisée. A mi-côte, sur le penchant d'un vallon verdoyant, nous trouvons la chapelle de *Fi-laï-sz*. Nous y remarquons trois idoles dont l'une represente le pieux fondateur qui, dit-on, fut transporté dans ce lieu sur les ailes d'un dragon de feu, il y a plus de deux mille ans. Ce

monastère est pour les voyageurs une halte favorite. Les moines, pleins d'une tendre sympathie pour les faiblesses humaines, y poussent l'hospitalité jusqu'à servir de l'opium à leurs hôtes ; ils leur vendent aussi, comme reliques et comme souvenirs de leur visite, des bâtons sculptés coupés dans les bocages sacrés qui environnent le temple. Le val de *Tsing-yune*, où se trouve le monastère, est renommé entre tous les terrains sacrés qui servent à la sépulture des hommes. On y voit des milliers de tombeaux qui des bords de la rivière s'elevent sur les flancs de la colline jusqu'à une hauteur de 800 pieds. L'intèrieur du temple est pavé en granit et decoré de fleurs disposées dans de beaux vases ; de sorte que l'art ajoute ses agréments à un ensemble auquel la nature a déjà prodigué ses plus romantiques beautés. De l'autre côté de la rivière, un étroit sentier conduit à une ravine boisée, où les moines se retirent lorsqu'ils veulent se soustraire au monde, oublier son existence, ses joies, ses peines, et cultiver le repos suprème qui les rapproche du Mivana (Nirvana)."

Dr. Henry :—"Ten miles above Tsing-uen (*Tsing-yuan*, *Tsing-yun*) we come to one of the finest bits of scenery to be found anywhere. Through the midst of a mountain group, rent asunder by some mighty convulsion, the river flows in a deep, narrow course. Approaching the place from the south, the "seven stars" hills (七星岡 *Ts'i-sing-kang*, *Ts'at-sing-kong*, situées sur la rive gauche du fleuve, un peu au dessus de *Tsing-yuan*) are first passed, then the rising cliffs on either side, and soon we are between the lofty walls of a magnificent mountain gorge. Fleets of small fishing-boats lie off the little town of Pak-miu (白廟), and not infrequently craft of another kind, in which bands of robbers dart out in the darkness and pounce upon boats in the narrow gorge when no help is near. The narrow defile is six miles long,

and is in the form of a semi-circle. The hills at either end are mostly bare, but in the middle section, on both sides of the river, they are well covered with trees. On the north side (rive droite) a series of Buddhist monasteries rise one above another in the midst of a splendid thickly-wooded ravine. The groves of *Fi-loy-tsz* (飛來寺) are a never-ceasing delight and are well known throughout the province. The picturesque glen, down which the cascade leaps, the pool at its foot, where the children delight to play, the cool, sweet water praised by every visitor, the deep groves and shady paths leading to the upper heights, the cool retreats, with mossy seats, and quiet nooks where tired nerves may rest undisturbed, the wealth of flowering plants that cover the hills with their mantle of brilliant colours, the abundance of delicate ferns, and many other attractions, combine to make it a place which all who have known its charms long to revisit; a place not merely to alight for a moment in our hurried flight, as the legend represents the Buddha to have done, but one to linger in amidst its rocks and trees in the full enjoyment of its manifold delights."

Vues du temple de *Sang-won-hah* et de la montagne du même nom, dans Nieuhoff (Ed. A., pp. 87 et 88; Ed. B., 60 et 61. L'Ed. C. ne renferme p. 50 que la vue de la montagne), du monastère de *Fi-lai-sz*, dans Thomson, p. 183 (également dans *le Tour du Monde, Voyage en Chine* par M. J. Thomson, tome XXIX, p. 381.—p. 380: Cour du monastère de *Fi-lai-sz*, d'après des photographies prises par Thomson).

VIII.—"Nous employâmes trois grandes journées à passer ces affreuses Montagnes, et n'y vîmes qu'un amas de petits cabanes qui composoient un Village, nommé *Quantonlou*, planté au pied d'un rocher pointu. Le 24. de Mars nous

arrivâmes à la petite ville d'Yngtak, ou *Yngte*, où nous fûmes contraints de moüiller l'ancre, à cause que la rivière y est fort rapide. Cette rivière qui fait des bordures delicieuses à la terre, et à la campagne voisine, est capable pour la rapidité, et roideur de ses eaux, de tailler bien de la besoigne aux Vaisseaux qu'elle reçoit. Elle emporta inopinement un Vaisseau de nos Ambassadeurs sur un brisan avec tant d'impetuosité et de furie, qu'il en reçut une grande ouverture, qui alloit nous faire couler à fonds, si le tournoiement de l'eau, et nostre addresse ne nous ûssent facilité le moyen de prendre terre.

"Cette petite ville (*Yngtak*) est bastie vis-à-vis de la dite montagne de *Sang-won-hab*, à 220 stades de *Sanxiu* (*Xanxui*, *San-chouei* ou *Sam-choui*). Son circuit est d'un quart d'heure ou environ. Elle est entourée de fortes murailles, et de bons bastions, et enrichie de belles maisons, et de plusieurs magnifiques Temples. Au dehors elle a des faux-bourgs qui furent jadis fort peuplés, et un bon port pour guarantir les Vaisseaux de la violence de la rivière. A l'entrée de ce Port on voit à la main droite une Tour de tres-belle structure, enrichie de neuf galeries artistement travaillées, et élevées."[54]

Entre *Tsing-yuan* (*Tsing-yun*) et *Yng-tô* (英德 *Yng-tak*), s'etend une magnifique contrée : le fleuve est bordé de hauteurs et de paysages excessivement pittoresques. Nieuhoff est sobre de détails à ce sujet. Il faut lire les descriptions de Thomson (pp. 186-187) et du Dr. Henry (pp. 124 et seq.). Dans ce parcours, les endroits les plus intéressants sont le 石鼓 *Che-kou* (*Siek-kou*, stone drum), le 大廟峽 *Ta-miao-chia* (*Taï-miou-hap*, Great Temple Pass), le 盲仔峽 *Mang-tseu-chia* (*Mang-tsaï-hap*, Blind Boy's Pass), le 碧落洞 *Pi-lao-t'oung* (*Pik-lok* Tunnel).

[54] Ed. A., pp. 90-91. A la page 91, vue d'*Ingtak* (sic : *Yngtak*). Je n'ai pu identifier le village de *Quantonlou*, qui, selon la carte de Nieuhoff, serait entre *Ts'ing-yun* et *Yng-to*, sur la rive droite du fleuve.

La ville de district (縣) de 英德 *Yng-to* (*Yng-tak*) a un *li* environ de circonférence. Les murs en furent construits dans les années 慶元 *k'ing-yuan* de la dynastie des 宋 *Soung* Méridionaux (1195-1201). Ils ont trois cent quarante huit 丈 *tchang* de tour et un 丈 trois pieds de haut. Au commencement de la dynastie des *Ming*, ils étaient en partie détruits : ils furent reparés la cinquième année 天順 *T'ien-choun* (1462) par le magistrat de district 杜宥 *Tou Yéou*. Dans la suite on y ajouta un certain nombre de miradors ou tours de garde (*T. T.*, livre CXXV).

Van Braam décrit ainsi *Yng-to* (*Yng-tak*) qu'il appelle *In-té-chen* (p. 49) :—" The size of that city is not considerable, but the good state of its walls announces a neat and comfortable place : its suburbs, by the river's side, are very extensive. To the north of the city is an insulated rock, covered with very lofty trees, overshadowing a temple, which at this distance makes a magnificent appearance, and seems to be very agreeably situated ; it is seen from far, overlooking the city."

Dr. Henry :—" Following the course of the little stream that flows out from the tunnel (le 碧落洞) we pass extensive limestone quarries, skirt the base of several fine cliffs that rise up from the river's side, and come into the open country again below the city of Ying-tak. This city is finely situated with high hills behind it, on which are many temples, while in front are broad plains, with limestone hills rising from them. On one of these below the city is a peculiar conical tower, specially constructed to bring good luck. Ying-tak has many interesting historical associations. For many years it was the seat of government for this section of the province, and also the head-quarters of the Buddhists in past centuries. The Golden Dragon monastery is still in existence. The grave of Lou-chung, a famous character, cousin or brother

of the usurper Lou-im, who set up the unrecognised dynasty of Nan-han in the confusion that ensued upon the fall of the Tang dynasty, is said to be on Lion Hill, near the present monastery of the White Tiger."

La ville de *Yng-to* (*Yng-tak*) est située sur la rive droite du *Peï-kiang*, au confluent du 大滑石水 *Ta-houa-che-choueï* (*Taï-oua-siek-souei*) qui se jette dans le fleuve au dessous de la cité. Les collines, au nord-ouest de *Yng-to*, sont appelées 龍山 *Loung-chan* (*Long-san*) et 南山 *Nan-chan* (*Nam-san*). En face de la ville, le *Peï-kiang* reçoit le 翁江 *Oueng-kiang* (*Yong-kong*), venant du nord-est (sur ce cours d'eau, *cf.* Dr. Henry, p. 128). *K. T. T.*, livre VIII.

IX.—"Le 25. de Mars, nous decouvrimes le merveilleux et magnifique Temple de *Kon-ian-sjam*, qui est extremement frequanté par les Chinois, et qui ne reçoit pas moins d'offrandes et de victimes que celuy de *Sang-won-hab*. Il est elevé au bord de la rivière en une montagne déserte. Avant que d'y arriver, on est obligé de franchir plusieurs degrés, de traverser divers fossés, grotes, et spelonques enrichies d'une infinité de peintures, comme de festons, fleurs, balustres, guillochis, tables d'attente, d'animaux, de monstres, et de choses semblables. . . . La curiosité nous porta de visiter ce Temple. Nous y vismes un grenier parsemé d'images marquetées, de marotes chaperonées, de marmousets, et de poupées fort plaisantes: ses murailles estoient plastrées de caracteres, qui donnoient à connoistre les noms de ceux qui y font des offrandes avec plus de zèle, de devotion, et de libéralité."[55]

Kon-ian-sjam (*Konjansiam* sur la gravure, Ed. A., p. 92) est une mauvaise transcription de 觀音山 *Kouan-yn-chan* (*Koun-yam-san*), montagne de la déesse *Kouan-yn* (Avalokiteçvara).

[55] Ed. A., pp. 91-92.

Voici les diverses ortographes des anciens voyageurs : *Quan-gin-chan* (John Barrow, p. 117); *Koan-yeng-naum* (Æneas Anderson, *A narrative of the British Embassy*, 1795, p. 247); *Coun-yam* (Van Braam, tome I, p. 51); *Kwan-yin-shan* (Ellis, p. 40); *Quong-ying* (Abel, *Narrative of a journey in the interior of China*, p. 198).

Ce site a été décrit par Staunton, John Barrow, Anderson, De Guignes, Ellis et Abel ; plus récemment par Thomson et le Dr. Henry. Vues : Nieuhoff, Ed. A., p. 92; Ed. B., p. 63; Ed. C., p. 52 ; Staunton, planche 43, *folio volume* ; De Guignes, Atlas de son *Voyage* ; Abel, p. 196 ; Thomson, p. 190.

Kouan-yn-chan porte également le nom de 觀音巖 *Kouan-yn-yen* (*Koun-yam-am*). Ce rocher est à trente cinq *li* (trois lieues et demie) à l'est de *Yng-to* (*Yng-tak*) : il s'élève perpendiculairement comme un mur (石峰壁立) ; il surgit du bord de l'eau (沼崖而出). Il renferme de petites grottes dans lesquelles on peut avancer de plusieurs dizaines de pas (*T. T.*, livre CII). Comme le temple de *Feï-laï-sseu* il a été chanté par les poètes ; le *T. T.* reproduit plusieurs de ces poesies.

Description du Dr. Henry (p. 129) :—"Straight from the water's edge, which flows in a deep current at this point, to a height of six hundred feet, rises a perpendicular wall of rock. It is pierced by innumerable small cavities in which the birds find homes, and shows straggling shrubs that have taken root in the handfuls of soils on the ledges. The whole is a mass of igneous rock, of white, grey, reddish, and yellow colour in various parts, which shows no effect of atmospheric changes. The ferry boat lands us at the mouth of the cave, (of the Goddess of Mercy=*Kouan-yn*), which is in several chambers, whence we ascend a winding staircase, with idols on every side, to the main cavern, which is devoted to the

deity whose name it bears. Standing on the balcony of the temple built at the opening of this cavern a hundred feet above the water, we look down at the stream below, and out over the country around. The place was dedicated to Kwan-yin, and proclaimed a sacred spot by the Emperor Shun-chi, who sent deputies with presents of a banner and other paraphernalia, and performed worship by proxy at the shrine. A large gilt image stands upon the main altar, dressed in embroidered robes, the gift of devotees. It has acquired the reputation of being a lucky shrine, and has received an enormous amount of worship in the past. Imperial patronage has fallen off, so that in these later times it is comparatively deserted. Its principal supporters are the merchants, who in transporting their goods seek the protection of this benign goddess. The natural beauty of the cave has been marred by the smoke and *débris* of incense and tapers, so that except in the remote chambers, difficult to reach, but few of its original attractions appear."[56]

X.—" Le 27. du mois de Mars, nous arrivâmes vers le soir à une certaine place, que les Chinois appellent *Mongley*, que l'on découvre fort bien de loin. On y entre par une porte très-bien fortifiée. Elle a ses murailles garnies de bons bastions, et fortes Tours, capable de faire teste aux attaquans. Les Campagnes et les forests qui l'encourtinent ne luy donnent pas peu de grace, et d'ornement."

Mongley est le village de 濛裏 *Moung-li* (*Mong-lei*) situé sur la rive gauche du fleuve, (*Mong-li-chen* dans Van Braam), un peu au-dessus de l'endroit où celui reçoit le 宣溪水

[56] Le *Kouan-yu-chan* est à deux cents milles (320 Kilometres) environ au-dessus de Canton (Thomson, p. 190), sur la rive droite du *Pei-kiang* (*K. T. T.*, livre V). Sur sa carte, *Map of the province of Canton*, le Rev. Loercher l'a placé par erreur sur la rive gauche.

Chuan-ki-choueï (*Siun-k'aï-soueï*), cours d'eau venant de l'ouest (faisons remarquer, en passant, qu'après *Yng-to*, le *Peï-kiang* n'est plus connu que sous le nom de 滇水 *Tcheng-choueï*, *Tsing-souï*). On sait que tous les villages de la province de Canton sont fortifiés : précaution prise de longue date contre les pirates et brigands ou peut-être encore à cause des batailles et luttes entre clans qui ensanglantent souvent les campagnes. Il ne faut donc pas être surpris que l'auteur nous parle de " bons bastions et fortes Tours " et nous ait représenté *Moung-li* sous l'aspect d'un château du Moyen âge (Ed. A., p. 93 ; Ed. B., p. 64 ; Ed. C., p. 52).

XI.—" Le 29. de Mars, nous arrivâmes avec toute nostre flote devant la seconde ville de la province de *Quantung* nommée *Xaocheu*, laquelle est bastie à 300. stades de la petite ville d'*Yngte*, en une langue de terre sur le bord d'une belle rivière, laquelle poussant ses eaux au Midy porte les noms de *Siang*, et de *Kio*, et reçoit incessamment un grand nombre de Navires, qui s'y rendent à la foule, à cause de la commodité de son port. Elle prend sa naissance des rivières de *Chin*, et de *Vu*, qui s'allient non loin de cette ville, en un lieu frequent en rocs et en falaises, avec tant de violence, et d'impetuosité, que les plus experimentés en apprehendent l'abord, et spécialement en un temps orageux. D'où vint que les Chinois pour eviter les sanglantes catastrophes et funestes avantures de leurs Devanciers, souventes fois peris et noiés parmi les vacarmes et énoulemens de ces bruiantes ondes, furent persuady d'eriger un Temple à l'embouchure de ce lieu, où les matelots se rendent ordinairement avant que d'y passer, pour offrir des victimes, des vœux et des prières à la divinité qui y préside, la croyant la dispensatrice de leur fortune, et l'unique arbitre de leur vie et de leur mort.

"Cette ville est entourée au couchant d'une haute et tres-plaisante montagne, et au Levant au de là de l'eau a un faubourg rempli de peuples, et de maison basties d'une structure fort étrange et admirable. On découvre vis à vis du fau-bourg une colline au milieu de la rivière, sur laquelle est plantée une Tour, edificé à l'antique, mais très-artistement embellie de cinq balustres ou cloisons, laquelle ne se peut aborder qu'à la faveur de quelque vaisseau.

"Le fameux *Nicolas Tregaut*[57] Jesuite, en sa description de la *Chine* parle de cette ville en ces termes: "La ville de Xaocheu est située entre deux rivières propres à porter toute sorte de Vaisseaux: dont l'une nommée *Chin* arrouse au Levant la contrée de *Nanhiung*, et l'autre nommée *Vu*, moüille la Province de *Huquang*. Toute la ville est au milieu de terre, où elle est arrousée de deux costez de ces deux rivières: et parce que l'espace qu'il y a entre elles n'est pas fort grand, les maisons y basties en sont tant plus petites. De sorte que si les habitants veulent clever de grands bastimens, ils sont contraints de les planter à l'autre costé des rivières. On voit au costé Occidental un grand pont de bateaux, pour transporter ceux qui se veulent rendre dans les maisons, qui y sont basties en grand nombre et bien peuplées." [58]

Xaocheu ou 韶州府 *Chao-tchéou-fou* (*Chiou-tchao-fou*) est située au confluent du 湞水 *Tcheng-choueï* (*Tsing-choui*) au cours supérieur du *Peï-kiang*, et du 武水 *Vou-choueï* (*Moû-choui*), rivière qui vient du nord-ouest. Le 湞水 *Tcheng-choueï* et le 武水 *Vou-choueï* (*Moû-choui*) sont les rivières *Chin* et *Vu* de Nieuhoff et de Trigault: Quant à "la belle rivière laquelle poussant ses eaux au Midy porte

[57] Ed. B., p. 65: *Niklaas Trigautius;* il s'agit du P. Nicolas Trigault (*cf.* Cordier, Col. 344). L'éd. C. n'a pas reproduit le passage de Trigault.

[58] Ed. A., pp. 94-95.

les noms de *Siang* et de *Kio*" c'est le *Peï-kiang* qui, dans cette région, est connu sous le nom de 湞水 *Tcheng-choueï* (*Tsing-soui*). Je ne connais pas les noms *Siang* et *Kio*. Au nord-est de la ville sont des hauteurs appelées 帽子峯 *Mao-tseu-foung* (*Moô-tseu-fong*). *K. T. T.*, livre III.

C'est une ville-préfecture (府) qui forme en même temps la ville de district de 曲江 *K'iu-kiang* (*Kouk-kong*). Les murs ont neuf *li* trente pas (步) de tour, et deux 丈 *tchang* cinq pieds de haut. D'après le 方輿紀要 *Fang-yu-ki-yao*, *Chao-tcheou-fou* est l'ancienne ville de 始興 *Che-ching* (*Tchi-hing*). Du temps de la dynastie des 漢 *Han* (206 ar. J.C.—220), la cité etait au pied du 蓮花嶺 *Lien-houa-ling* (*Lin-fâ-leng*), à l'est du 湞水 *Tcheng-choueï* (*Tsing-soui*) ; sous les 隋 *Soueï* (581-618), elle etait à l'ouest du 武水 *Vou-choueï* (*Moô-choui*), dans un endroit bas et humide ; sous les 南漢 *Nan-han* des cinq dynasties (936-960) on la transfera au milieu des deux cours d'eau ; peu de temps après, on commença de construire des murs en terre qui furent ensuite réparés sous les 宋 *Soung* (960-1206) et la troisième année 洪武 *Houng-vou* des 明 *Ming* (1370). Au commencement de cette dernière dynastie, le préfet 徐眞 *Siu Tchen* établit cinq portes appelées 湘江門 *Siang-kiang-meun* (*Siang-kong-moun*), 乾門 *K'ien-meun* (*K'in-moun*), 東門 *Toung-meun* (*Tong-moun*), 南門 *Nan-meun* (*Nam-moun*), 西門 *Si-meun* (*Saï-moun*). Celle-ci est l'ancienne 望京 *Ouang-king* (*Mang-king*). A l'ouest, elle est voisine du 武水 *Vou-choueï* (*Moô-soui*) ; au nord, elle s'adosse au 筆峯山 *Pi-foung-chan* (*Pat-fong-san*), etc., etc. Cf. *T. T.*, livre CXXV.

筆峯山 *Pi-foung-chan* (*Pat-fong-san*) est un autre nom de 帽子峰 *Maô-tseu-foung* (*Moô-tseu-fong*). Cette montagne, qui est la principale hauteur de la préfecture, est à un *li* au nord de la ville. Elle a quarante 丈 *tchang* environ de haut

et sept *li* de circonférence. A plusieurs reprises, divers 知府 *tche-fou*, préfets de *Chao-tcheou-fou* (*Siou-tchao-fou*) ont fait construire à son sommet des kiosques (亭) qui ont successivement porté les noms de 整冠亭 *Tcheng-kouan-t'ing*, 帽峰亭 *Maô-foung-t'ing*, 鳳來亭 *Foung-laï-t'ing*, etc. Il n'en reste plus de traces adjourd'hui. *T. T.*, livre CII.

Le nom vulgaire ou populaire de cette ville est 韶關 *Chao-kouan* (*Chiou-kouan* ou *Shiu-kwan*, ortographe anglaise), signifiant la *barrière* ou *douane* de *Chao* (*Chiou*). "It is used almost universally among the people of the province. At *Shiu-chau-fu* there are two of these barriers: one across each of the rivers that unite at the city. These barriers are formed by boats held in place by an iron chain, which is drawn across the river to prevent the passage of boats up or down. Planks are laid from boat to boat, so that people can walk across. At 9 a.m. the official in charge descends to the Customs barge, when the chain is loosened and boats pass up or down, after passing the usual examination. About 10 a.m. the barrier is closed and no boat can go up or down without a special permission. These *kwan* or barriers seem to have made such an impression upon the minds of the people that they invariably speak of the city of *Shiu-chau-fu* as *Shiu-kwan*." (Renseignements communiqués par le Dr. Henry).

Voici les ortographes de *Chao-tcheou-fou* adoptées par les anciens voyageurs: *Chau-choo-foo* (Staunton); *Shaw-choo* (Anderson); *Tchao-tchou-fou* (Barrow); *Chao-tcheou-fou* (Van Braam); *Chao-tcheou-fou* (De Guignes); *Chao-choo-foo* (Ellis);[59] *Chaou-chou-foo* (Abel).

"We arrived," dit Van Braam, "at the city of *Chao-tcheou-fou*, to the south-east of which the river divides into two branches.

[59] "At this city," dit cet auteur, "the *Tung-ho* (ou 潼水) or Eastern river is joined by the *See-ho* (or 武水) or Western river, and the united stream assumes the name of the *Pe-keang* (*Peï-kiang*)."

The one that we followed runs to the north-east (le 浈水), while the other takes its course to the westward, after passing to the south of the city (le 武水). A bridge of boats has been constructed over this latter branch. Opposite the bifurcation of the river, and in the middle of its bed, is a small elevated island, on which an hexagonal tower is built. Another is seen on the summit of an exceeding high mountain on the western side. . . . The city of *Chao-tcheou-fou* is a little smaller than Canton, but it may boast of an imperial Custom-house, and of a garrison of considerable strength. The necessity of removing goods from great to small vessels, and from small to great, according as they are to be conveyed up or down the stream,[60] occurring at the place where the city is built, it is the centre of a great deal of movement, which gives it a very lively appearance. At *Chao-tcheou-fou*, as well as in the other cities of China, little is seen from without except the ramparts, the houses being very low. The roofs of the temples and of the Mandarin's palaces alone overlook the walls.

" *Chao-tcheou-fou* is not of a regular form. Its rampart makes a curve to the eastward, and the city, when seen from the north, is of an oblong shape. At the north-east extremity is another great bridge of boats, near the Custom-house. At the same part are very extensive suburbs, situated without the rampart, where, on account of the nature of the river, the houses are almost all built upon piles, which gives these suburbs a very singular appearance. At the place where the bridge of boats ends on the opposite bank are other suburbs of considerable extent, and tolerably compact. The passage

[60] Le cours supérieur du *Peï-kiang* (ou 浈水) n'est navigable pour les grands bateaux qu'après avoir reçu à *Chao-tcheou-fou* le 武水 *Vou-choueï* (*Moû-choui*). Au dessus de cette ville, il s'y trouve peu d'eau et un certain nombre de rapides.

over the bridge is safe and much frequented. There are fixed hours of the day for opening it in order to give an issue to the vessels that are going up or down. During these intervals little boats supply the want of a bridge, and satisfy the impatience of those who are desirous of crossing over to the other side without delay.

"There stands also to the northward of the city, and at the extremity of a high mountain, a tower which looks very heavy, and appears to be constructed without taste. It is octagonal, and only three stories high." (Tome I, pp. 54-57.)

Dr. Henry :—"We come in sight of the city of *Shiu-kwan* (*Chao-kouan* ou *Chao-tcheou-fou*), the centre of trade and of government in the northern section of the province. It has a population of 100,000 people, the city proper being surrounded by a substantial wall, the eastern suburbs, in which the greater part of the business is done, extending for a mile or more along the river. It is most favourably situated at the junction of two important streams (le 浈水 et le 武水), and is the political and literary centre of six large counties. Two important Custom stations, one on the North and the other on the Ching River, each with a bridge of boats spanning the stream, provide for the collection of duties. The shores of both rivers are lined with boats, which represent a large and varied traffic, while miles of rafts indicate the extent of the lumber trade. The name *Shiu-kwan* means "City of Harmony" and the tradition is that the great Emperor Shun, in his travels south over four thousand years ago, visited this region, and played his wonderful music, celebrated in all the ancient literature of China, upon the musical stones to the north, and also on the site of the present city, whose name commemorates his visit. (*Ling-Nam*, p. 132-133)."

Au moment du passage de l'Ambassade Hollandaise, *Chao-tcheou-fou* (*Chiou-tchaô-fou*) ne s'etait pas encore relevée des effets de la conquête de la province par les Tartares, qui avait eu lieu quelques années auparavant. " La ville de *Xao-cheu*," dit-il, " donne à connoistre par ses masures et debris, qu'elle a pû, lorsqu'elle estoit en sa splendeur, marches de pair avec la première de la Province. Elle paroit au dehors assy bien remparée, mais au dedans on pleuresoit bien sur les monceaux de pierres, qui sont des effets de la cruanté des Tartares." [61]

Les éditions A et B donnent une jolie vue de la ville, planche hors texte, (Ed. A., p. 95 ; Ed. B., p. 65), avec le titre *Xaocheu* ou *Sucheu* ;[62] dans l'Ed. C., p. 53, la planche a été réduite et intercalée dans le texte (titre : *Suchu*) avec quelques légères modifications de détail. Le graveur a dès faire une confusion entre *Chao-tchéou-fou* et *Sou-tchéou*, la celèbre ville du *Kiang-sou*.

A *Chao-tcheou-fou* (*Chiou-tchao-fou*), nos voyageurs quittèrent nécessairement les bateaux qui les avaient amenés de Canton et en prisent de plus petits afin de remonter le 清水 *Tcheng-choueï* (*Tsing-choui*). Nieuhoff n'a pas enregistré ce transbordement, mais, en égard au peu de profondeur de ce cours d'eau et d'après les récits ultérieurs de Staunton, Barrow, Anderson, De Guignes, Van Braam, etc., qui parlent de l'obligation de changer de bateaux à ce point, on ne saurait douter qu'il ne se soit effectué.

XII.—" Une belle et vaste campagne environnée de côteaux, et de toutes sortes d'arbres fruitiers rend cette ville extremement divertissante. C'est près de cette plaine que l'on découvre le Temple, ou le Monastère de *Luzu* (qui retient le nom de son

[61] Ed. A., p. 96.

[62] La carte en tête du volume porte egalement *Sucheu*.

fondateur) élevé sur un côteau nommé des habitans *Nanhoa*. Ce *Luzu*, selon l'ancienne tradition des Chinois, estoit regardé, il y a huict cens ans, comme un parfait modèle de toutes les vertus ; il quitta de bonne heure le bruit des villes, et se retira dans les plus sombres cachots de ce côteau, pour y vivre en repos. Ce fut là qu'il s'addonna avec un esprit de feu au service de ses dieux, et leur fit des sacrifices. Lors qu'il estoit un petit moment absent de sa solitude, ou diverté par quelcun de ses amis, tous les discours lui sembloient importuns, et tous ses plus grands delices sa tournoient et amertumes. Les viandes n'avoient pour luy de saveur, la boisson point de goût, et le sommeil point de repos. Et comme il sçavoit bien que l'abondance de l'oisiveté fait fondre le cœur, et donne l'entrée à toutes sortes de pensées et d'actions deshonnestes, il passoit les jours voire les nuits entieres à cribler le ris pour la nourriture de mille Moines qu'il avoit receu, et elevé dans son hermitage, il avoit une telle horreur de l'impudicité, il aimoit tant la penitence, la mortification du corps, l'habit aspre, et rude, qu'il se fit faire une chaisne de fer, de laquelle il chargea son pauvre corps jusques à la mort. Il regardoit sa chair, comme la prison d'un esprit immortel, et pensoit qu'en la flattant, il ét-uffoit la meilleure partie de soy-mesme, qui consiste en l'entendement. Il disoit qu'une vie sans croix, estoit une mere morte, qui n'engendroit que des sterilités, et des puanteurs, et qu'il fallait s'accoustumer à quitter de bonne heure les voluptés et les delicatesses du monde, puis qu'on estoit tous contraints de les abandonner un jour par necessité. Lors qu'il voyoit tomber des vers de sa chair toute pourrie, et corrompüe par l'aspreté de sa chaisne, il les ramassoit avec douceur, et leur faisoit cette petite harangue : Chers Vermisseaux pourquoy ni abandonnez vous si lâchement, lorsque vous trouvez encore dequoy vous repaistre ? Vous sçavez que j'ay renoncé à tous

les delices, et à toutes les commodités de la terre pour vous donner l'estre, et vous nourrir de mon propre sang ; je me suis estudié passé tant d'années à vous procurer le repos, au detriment de ma santé ; je vous ay donné mon propre corps en proye et en curée, sans m'en ressentir, je vous ay mignardé si long-temps avec tant de tendresse, et de bonté, faut-il maintenant que je vous vois ingrats et denatury jusques à ce point, que de me rebuter sur la fin de mes années ? Reprenés, je vous conjure, reprenés vostre place, dont vous vous estes emparés, et si la fidelité en la base des vrays amitiés, soiez moy fidelles jusques à la mort, et attachez vous hardiment à ma chair, jusques à ce que vous la reduisiez au tombeau ; faites une anatomie de mon corps, qui vous est dedié dès sa naissance, et à tous ceux de vostre espece. Bon Dieu ! ne dirions nous pas que voicy un des plus austeres Anachoretes, qui va mourant comme un Phenix sur la montagne du soleil, dans les odeurs de ses heroïques vertus ? Reveillez-vous, Hermites, reveillez Cloitriers, au bruit de cette Harangue, sortie d'une bouche Payenne, apprenez Hypocrites, à porter maintenant vos haines, et vos cilices pour en ressenter les piqueures, plustost que d'en faire parade jusques sur les Autels par une devotion damnable et affetée. Apprenez à vous parer de vos playes comme d'une pompre Royale ; prenez le Sceptre en main sur toutes les delicatesses de vostre corps ; ce Payen vous prononce des oracles, qui apprennent à tous les siècles qu'il n'y a mal ni douleur, où Dieu fait de nos peines ses miracles, et sa gloire de nos recompences.

" Les Chinois ayans admiré la vie et l'austerité de ce grand personnage en firent estat, luy dresserent un tombeau, qu'ils ont enfermé d'un superbe Pagode, où ils accourent en pelerinage de tous les coins de l'Empire, pour luy immoler des victimes, comme à un de leurs premiers Tutelaires. Le Convent est divisé en douze rang, qui ont chacun leur Sindic, ou Inspec-

teur, sans y comprendre celuy qui a un pouvoir ample et absolu sur tout le Monastere." [63]

J'ai reproduit en entier ce passage afin de montrer, par une comparaison avec la traduction exacte du texte hollandais (Ed. B., pp. 65-66) que le travail de Le Carpentier n'est autre chose, en général qu'une *adaptation* du livre original de Nieuhoff. Voici en effet ce que dit l'edition B. :—

"Près de la ville est un paysage plat, agréable et divertissant, entouré, de l'autre côté de hauteurs et de toute espèce d'arbres fruitiers ; on voit aussi sur la montagne *Nanhoa* un monastère et un grand temple qui y est joint où vivent un grand nombre de prêtres païens. Un certain personnage nommé *Luzu* qui, par ses jeûnes et sa vie sévère fit une telle impression sur le peuple qu'après sa mort celui-ci l'adora comme un saint, a elevé ce monastère à ses frais. Ce *Luzu*, dit-on, portait nuit et jour une chaîne de fer sur la peau, et passait tant de temps, pendant le jour, à sasser et cribler du riz, qu'une douzaine de moines pouvait vivre chaque jour avec la quantité ainsi préparée. Cette chaîne était entrée si profondement dans la chair et y avait causé une telle putréfaction que des douzaines de vers avaient apparu. Chaque fois qu'un de ces vers tombait à terre, il le ramassait et lui parlait en ces termes : 'Ne trouvez-vous pas quelque chose à ronger et à grignotter ? Pour quelle raison quittez-vous alors mon corps et fuyez-vous ?' Son corps, ainsi que me le dirent les habitants du temple, est encore conservé dans ce lieu. Et en mémoire de la trop grande piété de cet homme, on a elevé le temple précité, où les Chinois de toutes les provinces font des pélérinages." [64]

[63] Ed. A., pp. 95-96.

[64] Traduction du Dr. Schrameier, Consul d'Allemagne à Canton. Ed. B., pp. 65-66.

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Par contre, l'Edition C. suit pas à pas le texte original :— "In view of this City spreads a most pleasant Valley, (which seems Walled in with various Fruit-bearing Trees) not far from thence, upon the Mountain *Manhoa* (lisez *Nan-hoa*), stands a Cloister, Neighboured by a spacious Temple-church, in which reside many of their Idolatrous Priests. A person called *Luzu* (who had by his Fasting and Austere Life, got himself so great a repute amongst the Vulgar throng, that after his death they honoured him as a Saint) built this Cloister at his own Charge: This Saint *Luzu* (as they reported) wore day and night upon his naked body, Iron chains, and spent all his time to grind and sift Rice for the Mouncks. These Iron Fetters had made such deep impressions into his flesh, which was also putrified for want of dressing and looking after, that nests of Worms crawled in the uncleansed Wounds, of which not one would he suffer to be taken off; for whensoever any of his Verminous Brood dropt off, he would take it up again and say, Have you not sufficient to Feast yourselves left? Why then forsake you my body, where you are welcome, and thus run away?: Whose Corps, as the Inhabitants inform us, is still preserved in this place." [65]

Il s'agit ici du 南華寺 *Nan-houa-sseu* (*Nam-oua-tseu*), temple de *Nan-houa* (*Nam-oua*), bâti sur le 南華山 *Nan-houa-chan* (*Nam-oua-san*), à vingt milles environ de *Chao-tchéou-fou*, et de 盧慧能 *Lou Houeï-neng* (*Loô Ouaï-neng*), connu sous le nom de 六祖 *Leou tsou* (*Lŏ-tsou*), sixième ancêtre, le sixième et dernier patriarche de l'eglise bouddhique en Chine (sur lequel *cf.* Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 137, No. 428). Le Dr. Henry a consacré tout un chapitre de son "*Ling-Nam*" à la description du Monastère et à la vie

[65] Ed. C., pp. 53-54.

de *Léou-tsou* (*Lo-tsou*).[66] J'y renvoie le lecteur et me contente d'extraire du *T.T.* (livres CII et CCXXIX) les renseignements suivants.

Le 南華山 *Nan-houa-chan* (*Nam-oua-san*), est également appelé 儀鳳山 *Y-foung-chan* (*Yi-fong-san*) parce que le bonze 盧能 *Lou Neng* (*Loô Neng*) y enseigna la Loi dans les premières années 儀鳳 *Y-foung* de la dynastie des 唐 *T'ang* (676-679). Elle est située à soixante *li* au sud de *Chao-tchéou-fou*. Il s'y trouve de nombreux misseaux et des pics magnifiques de forme extraordinaire. Elle produit du thé et du poivre.

Le 南華寺 *Nan-houa-sseu* (*Nam-oua-tseu*), Temple de *Nan-houa* (*Nam-oua*), fut fondé, la première année 天監 *T'ien-kien* de la dynastie des 梁 *Léang* (502), par le bonze 智藥 *Tche Lo*, du pays de 天竺 *T'ien-tchou* (Inde). Plus tard, 六祖 *Léou tsou* y enseigna la Loi. Au commencement de l'année 萬歲通天 *Ouan-souei-t'oung-t'ien* de la dynastie des 唐 *T'ang* (696), l'impératrice céleste (天皇后 ou 武后 *Vou-héou*) fit des cadeaux au temple et l'honora d'un décret impérial (錫賚宣詔). Dans les années 元和 *Yuan-ho*, de la même dynastie (806-821), l'empereur confère à la pagode le nom de 靈照之塔. La troisième année 開寶 *K'aï-pao* de la dynastie des 宋 *Soung* (970), l'empereur changea ce nom en celui de 南華塔 *Nan-houa-t'a*. Le temple, tombé en ruines sous les *Ming*, fut reparé la sixième année 成化 *Tch'eng-houa* (1470), puis reconstruit la cinquième année 康熙 *K'ang-chi*, de la dynastie actuelle (1666). On y conserve encore le corps, la robe et le 鉢 ou *pâtra* (bol d'aumône des mendiants bouddhistes) de *Léou-tsou*.

Ce site renferme douze "merveilles" (十二景) dont le *T.T.* (livre CCXXIX) cite les principales ; le 降龍塔 *Kiang-loung-t'a* (*Kong-loung-tap*), sur lequel conférer

[66] *Ling-Nam*, Chapitre XI, pp. 222-237.

Dr. Henry, *Ling-nam*, p. 234 ; le 伏虎亭 *Fou-hou-t'ing* (*Fou-fou-teng*) ; le 卓錫亭 *Tcho-si-t'ing* (*Tsio-sie-teng*) ; le 避難石 *Pi-nan-che* (*Pei-nan-siek*), et le 曹溪水 *Tsao-ki-chouei* (*Tso-k'aï*, " *Ling-Nam*," p. 232).

XIII.—" Nous partîmes le lendemain à la pointe du jour, et arrivâmes quelques heures après au pied de quelques affreuses montagnes, que les Tartares nomment les *Cinq testes de chevaux*, à cause de son (*sic*) étrange forme. On voyait en divers endroits de ces monts, qui semblaient braver les nües par leur hauteur, plusieurs edifices étranges, dont aucuns estoient encore en leur entier, et les autres abbatus par leur durée, ou par le ravage des guerres. Nous en vismes aucuns élevés sur des pointes de rochecs inaccessibles, voire si épouventables en leurs precipices et concavités, que l'on pourroit aisement s'imaginer que ce sont là des ouvrages faits par les mains des demons plustost que par celles des mortels. Nous fûmes poussés de curiosité de visiter l'architecture de ces bâtimens, et s'appendre la nature et les moeurs des habitants, mais nous nous trouvâmes tellement fatiguey à monter, que nous fûmes contraints de retourner sur nos pas, n'ayans pas encor gagné le milieu.

" Après avoir passé cette montagne, nous entraînes dans une autre beaucoup plus affreuse et plus pointüe, et qui pour le grand nombre de ses falaises et brisans fort perilleux, est nommée de ces Montagnards le *Mont des cinq Diables*, à cause qu'il engloutit, et dévore dans les cavités de ses bancs la plus-part des Vaisseaux qui s'y rendent. Nous y passâmes pourtant heureusement, et arrivâmes à *Suytjeen*, terre assez plaisante, et agréable. Là, les montagnes paroissoient au long de la rivière en si bel ordre, qu'elles sembloient plustost y estre rangées par l'art, que creées par la Nature : leurs vallées tissües de belles campagnes, énrichies d'arbres et

plantes, et diaprées d'une infinité de fleurs charmerent tellement nos yeux, et nos esprits, que je me suis mis à en crayonner cette figure, que je vous exhibe cy dessus." [67]

Les hauteurs nommées *les cinq testes de chevaux*, 五馬頭 *ou mâ t'éou* (*Ngou-mâ-t'aô*) sont célèbres dans le passage de la rivière : d'après Wells Williams, il faudrait traduire ce nom par "les cinq débarcadères." "They are," dit-il, "properly "called the Five Pier-heads (*ma-tau* being the term for a pier "or jetty, though the two characters mean *horse* and *head*)." [68] Je ne sais sur quelle autorité pourrait se baser cette interprétation.

Ce groupe montagneux est appelé 五馬歸槽山 *Ou-ma-koueï-ts'ao-chan* (*Ngou-mâ-kouaï-ts'ao-san*), *les cinq chevaux qui reviennent à la mangeoire*, par le *T. C.* (livre XVI). Il est, dit cet ouvrage, à trente *li* au nord-est de *Chao-tchéou-fou* : au nord, il est voisin du 湞水.

Les anciens voyageurs ont parlé de ces collines : Staunton (Tome II, p. 510) ; Barrow (Tome II, p. 114) ; De Guignes (Tome I, p. 272) ; Ellis (p. 397).

Dr. Henry :—"Inspiring views of the hills kept us from feeling the fatigue of the march. Chief among the objects of interest passed were the *Ng-ma-tou*, 'the Five Horses' Heads,' a peculiar group of hills that change their appearance continually as observed from different points of view, until we come directly behind them, when they stand out like mighty colossal steeds, arranged as the equestrian guards of the land. On three sides they are almost perpendicular, the fourth sloping down toward the plain, while the conformation of the sides opposite the slope is such as to suggest the name. They are all of red sandstone." (*Ling-Nam*, p. 240.)

[67] Ed. A., p. 97.

[68] *Course of the Chu-kiang, or Pearl River*, by S. Wells Williams (*Chinese Repository*, Tome XX). Ces collines ont cinq cents pieds environ d'altitude.

Je n'ai pas trouver de renseignements sur le *Mont des Cinq Diables* (五鬼山 *ou Kouei-chan, Ngoa-kouaï-san ?*).

Quant à *Suytjeen*, ce doit être 水村 *Choueï-ts'oun* (*Souits'oun*) localité située sur la rive gauche de la rivière, au dessus des *Cinq Testes de Chevaux*. L'edition B donne deux vues différentes de *Suytjeen*, et une vue des *Ou-ma-t'eou* (pp. 67-68 et 66); une seule de *Suytjeen* dans l'ed. A, p. 97 ; une des *Ou-ma-t'éou*, p. 96. De même, Ed. C., pp. 54 et 55.

XIV.—" Le 4. du mois d'Avril nous découvrîmes la Ville de *Nanhung*, laquelle est à 390. stades de *Xaocheu*, et s'est de limites à la Province de *Quantung*, que nous avions traversé du Midy au Septentrion. . . . Cette Ville de *Nanhung*, qui est la troizième Capitale de la Province de *Quantung*, a une heure et demie de circuit, et est defendüe de très-bonnes murailles, fortifiée de bastions et de tours presque inexpugnables, et capables d'en écarter l'ennemi qui la voudroit attaquer. Le pont basti sur la rivière est fermé durant la nuit d'une grosse chaisne pour la seureté des habitans. Elle est encore assez bien ornée de Temples, de Bâtimens et de Portes. Elle a un Bureau, où l'on paye les droits et le péage de tout ce qui monte, ou descend de la montagne par le moyen des portefaix.

" Non loin de ce lieu on void la rivière de *Mekiang*, c'est à dire d'*Encre*. Encore que ses eaux semblent estre tousjours vestües de deüil, à cause de la noirceur de son fond sablonneux ; si est-ce qu'elle nourrit des poissons qui surpassent en blancheur et en bonté les plus estimés de nostre Europe." [69]

Notre auteur passe sous silence la ville de district (縣) de 始興 *Che-ching* (*Tchi-hing*), située sur la rive gauche de la rivière, derrière quelques collines appelées 丹鳳山 *Tan-foung-*

[69] Ed. A., pp. 97-98.

chan (*Tan-fong-san*), parce qu'elle est sans doute à quelque distance de la route fluviale suivie par l'Ambassade, ou encore parce qu'il ne l'aperçut pas.

Je crois utile de donner ici quelques détails sur cette cité, extraits du *T.T.*, livre CXXVIII.

Elle est à quatre-vingt dix *li* à l'ouest de 南雄州 *Nan-chioung-tchéou* (*Nam-hong-tchaô*);[70] d'ancienne date, déplacée plusieurs fois, elle ne fut entourée d'un mur de terre que durant les années 天順 *T'ien-choun* de la dynastie des *Ming* (1457-1465), par les soins du Magistrat de district 謝濂 *Sié Lien;* agrandie la onzième année 成化 *Tch'eng-houa* (1477), elle avait alors trois cent quarante huit 丈 *tchang* de pourtour : les murs avaient un 丈 *tchang* de haut et cinq pieds d'épaisseur. Il existait alors trois portes : celle du sud ou 向秀 *Chiang-siéou* (*Hiong-saô*); celle de l'est ou 東作 *Toung-tso* (*Tong-tso*); celle de l'ouest ou 西城 *Si-tch'eng* (*Saï-sing*). Ces noms furent changés en 答陽 *Ta-yang* (*Ta-yeung*), 自東 *Tseu-toung* (*Tseu-tong*) et 自西 *Tseu-si* (*Tseu-saï*), la douzième année 崇禎 *Ts'oung-tcheng* (1639) par le Magistrat 蕭琦 *Siao K'i*, qui éleva les murs de quatre pieds. Une quatrième porte, celle de 文明 *Ouen-ming* (*Meun-ming*), fut ouverte à l'angle sud-est de la ville, la cinquante cinquième année 康熙 *K'ang-chi* (1716), à l'aide de fonds souscrits par le Magistrat d'alors et les habitants. Les murs de terre s'étant peu à peu ciroulés, ils furent remplacés, la quinzième année 嘉慶 *Kia-k'ing* (1810) par des murs en briques.

D'après Van Braam (Tome I, p. 60) la ville de *Che-ching* (*Tchi-hing*), donc il ecrit le nom *Chi-hing-chen*, est à une lieue et demie (quinze *li*) des bords de la rivière.

Nan-hung, dont nous parle Nieuhoff, est 南雄州 *Nan-chioung-tchéou* (*Nam-hong-tchaô*), Chef-lieu d'arrondissement indépendant (直隸州 *Tche-li-tchéou*), c'est-à-dire ne relevant

[70] Elle est à trente cinq milles environ au dessus de *Chao-tchéou-fou*.

pas d'un 府 *fou* ou préfecture. Elle est située sur la rive droite du 滇水 *Tcheng-choueï* ou cours supérieur du Fleuve du Nord (*Peï-kiang*), non loin du confluent du 裏溪水 *Li-ki-choueï* (*Lei-k'aï-soui*) et de ce fleuve, qui, au demeurant, n'est plus à cet endroit qu'une petite rivière peu profonde. Celle-ci est plutôt connue, dans la région, sous le nom de 東江 *Toung-kiang* (*Tong-kong*), Fleuve de l'Est.

La cité de *Nan-chioung* (*Nam-hong*) est assez ancienne :[71] elle s'appelait 雄州 *Chioung-tchéou* au temps des 南漢 *Nan-han* des Cinq Dynasties (936-951). Son nom actuel date des années 開寶 *K'aï-pao* des 宋 *Soung* (971). Elle se compose de deux villes : la vieille ville (舊城) et la nouvelle (新城). La première a été formée de deux anciennes villes dont l'une appelée 斗城 *Téou-tch'eng* (*Tao-sing*) fut bâtie la quatrième année 皇祐 *Houang-yéou* des 宋 *Soung* (1052), et dont l'autre 顧城 *Kou-tch'eng* (*Kou-sing*) fut construite dans les années 至正 *Tche-tcheng* des 元 Yuan (1341-1368). Cette *vieille ville* a sept cent vingt sept 丈 *tchang* de pourtour ; ses murs ont deux 丈 *tchang* cinq pieds cinq pouces de haut. Elle a cinq portes : 小東門 *Siao-toung-meun* (*Siou-tong-moun*), 大南門 *Ta-nan-meun* (*Taï-nam-moun*), 小南門 *Siao-nan-meun* (*Siou-nam-moun*), 大北門 *Tâ-peï-meun* (*Taï-pak-moun*), 西門 *Si-meun* (*Saï-moun*). La nouvelle ville fut construite entre la cinquième année 成化 *Tch'eng-houa* (1469) et la neuvième année 正德 *Tcheng-tô* (1514) des *Ming*. Un quartier dit 水城 *Choueï-tch'eng* (*Soui-sing*), bâti la quarante-troisième année 嘉靖 *Kia-tsing* (1564), y fut réuni par la suite, et le tout constitue la nouvelle ville actuelle. Ses murs sont aussi élevés que ceux de la vieille ville, mais elle a une circonférence de mille cent trente un 丈 *tchang* et sept pieds. Elle a onze portes : 小北門 *Siao-peï-meun* (*Siou-pak-moun*), 賓暘門 *Pin-yang-meun* (*Peun-yeung-moun*), 文明門 *Ouen-ming-*

[71] Elle est à cent trente *li* ou environ quarante milles de *Che-ching*.

meun (*Meun-ming-moun*), 龍蹲閣水門 *Loung-tsoun-ko-choueï-meun* (*Long-t'sun-ko-soui-moun*), 大馬頭水門 *Tâ-mâ-t'eóu-choueï-meun* (*Taï-mâ-t'aô-soui-moun*), 青雲水門 *Ts'ing-yun-choueï-meun* (*Ts'ing-ouan-soui-moun*), 雲衢水門 *Yun-kiu-choueï-meun* (*Ouan-k'eu-soui-moun*), 皇華水門 *Houang-houa-choueï-meun* (*Ouang-fâ-soui-moun*), 槐花水門 *Houaï-houa-choueï-meun* (*Ouaï-fâ-soui-moun*), 太平門 *T'aï-p'ing-meun* (*T'aï-p'ing-moun*), 小西門 *Siao-si-meun* (*Siou-saï-moun*).—*T. T.*, livre CXXVIII.

Dans leurs relations, Staunton, Barrow, Anderson, De Guignes, Ellis, donnent quelques détails sur la ville de *Nan-chioung-tchéou* (*Nam-hong-tchaô*) dont ils transcrivent ainsi le nom : *Nan-shoo-fou; Nan-cheun-fou; Naung-chin-oa; Nan-hiong-fou; Nan-hiung-foo.* Abel, Van Braam, Milne, (*La vie réelle en Chine*, trad. Tasset, Paris, 1860), n'en disent que très peu de mots : ils l'appellent *Nan-hiung-foo, Nan-hiong-fou, Nan-hioung.*

Barrow :—"La ville de *Nan-cheun-fou* est agréablement située sur les bords élevés du *Peï-kiang-ho*, les maisons de cette ville paraissent très-anciennes ; les rues sont étroites, et il y a, en dedans des murailles, de grands espaces nus et d'autres couverts de ruines."—(Tome III, p. 112.)

Anderson :—"The sun had set, when we arrived at the gates of the city of *Naung-chin-oa.* It stands in a plain, surrounded on three sides by mountains, on the fourth and to the south, flows the river on which we were to continue our voyage. It is a place of some extent and considerable commerce. The streets, like those of almost all the towns we have seen in China, are very narrow, but they have the advantage of being well paved, and well kept in the material article of cleanliness. The houses are chiefly of wood, and their general height is two stories. Though elegance, either interior or exterior, is not the peculiar character of this place, some of the shops were gilt and varnished in a manner that might bring them

within that denomination. At every door (*gate*) in the streets, after sunset, a large paper lamp is hung up, and forms a very pretty illumination. . . . We renewed our voyage, and began it by passing under a wooden bridge of seven arches, or rather, if accuracy of expression should be considered as indispensable, of seven intervals. These intervals are formed by strong stone pillars, built in the water, and overlaid with planks, guarded by a double railing. This structure stretches across the river, to form a communication between those parts of the suburbs of *Naung-chin-oa*, which are divided by it. Forts garrisoned with troops, and well supplied with artillery, guarded either end of it. The city itself is also well defended by walls, which are, at least, thirty feet in height, towards the river, with ramparts that take the whole circuit of the place, and square towers which are not confined to the gates, but appear to rise above the walls in other advantageous situations" (p. 237, p. 241).

De Guignes décrit egalement ce pont :—"Les piles en pierres," dit-il, "sont garnies d'eperons pour fender le courant de l'eau. Ce dessus est formé de poutres qui se croisent alternativement et sur lesquelles on a etendu un plancher de bois qui va d'un pile à l'autre. Ces bords en sont defendis par un garde-fou." D'après De Guignes *Nan-chioung-tcheou* est à 105 lieues et demie de Canton.

Ellis :—"From a hill on the other side of the river upon which we are to proceed there is a good bird's eye view of the city, which is less extensive than I had supposed ; the length is considerable in proportion to the breadth, and it is, I fancied, surrounded by a double wall. A small stream falls into the river, called here by the name of the town ; both streams, tributary and principal, are crossed by good stone bridges level on the top, with well-built regular arches [72] (p. 393).

[72] Un peu avant de se jeter dans le 澄水 *Tcheng-choueï* (*Tsing-soui*) le *Mô-kiang* prend le nom de 涼傘水 *Lêang-san-choueï*.—(*T. C.*, livre XVII.)

D'après Milne (p. 306) la distance de *Nan-chioung-tchéou* à Canton, par eau, est de mille trois cent quinze *li* ou trois cent quatre-vingt-dix milles anglais. Le *T. C.* dit que cette ville est à mille trois cents *li* au nord-est de Canton.—(Livre CXXVIII.)

Il ne parait pas exister de "rivière de *Mekiang* ou *d'Encre*" près de *Nan-chioung-tchéou*. Il y a dû y avoir confusion, dans l'esprit de l'auteur, entre le 裏溪水 *Li-ki-choueï* (*Lei-k'aï-soui*) qui se jette dans le 湞水 à peu de distance à l'ouest de *Nan-chioung-tchéou*, et le 墨江 *Mô-kiang* (*Mok-kong*, Fleuve d'encre) qui rejoint le même cours d'eau à l'ouest de 始興 *Che-ching* (*Tchi-hing*) et non loin de cette dernière cité. "Le *Mô-kiang*," dit le *T.T.* (livre CXIII), "est à un *li* a "l'ouest de la ville de district (*Che-ching*, *Tchi-hing*):[73] Sa "source est à la limite de district de 翁源 *Oueng-yuan* (*Yong-"yun*). Il coule pendant vingt *li* et arrive à 江口 *Kiang-"k'eou* (*Kong-haô*), où il s'unit au 東江 *Toung-kiang* (*Tong-"kong*), ou 湞水. Son nom vient, dit-on, de ce que ses eaux "sont noires comme l'encre."

Les editions A et B renferment une jolie vue, planche hors texte, de la ville de *Nan-chioung-tcheou* (p. 98 ; p. 68) : celle-ci a été réduite et inserée dans le texte de l'Edition C. (p. 55).

XV.—"Ces quartiers sont remplis de Montagnes, fort penibles aux Voyageurs. Il y en a une nommée *Muglyn*, qui fut si bien aplanie et pavée de pierres de taile (*sic*) par les soins d'un Gouverneur nommé *Chan-kien-ling*, que les gens de pied et de cheval, et les poste-chaises la peuvent traverser avec grande difficulté. Cet ouvrage plût tant aux Chinois, que pour honorer la memoire de son fondateur, ils luy bâtirent un Temple à la cyme de cette montagne, et y continuent encore en nos jours de s'y rendre à la foules pour luy brûler de l'encens, et luy offrir des victimes, comme à une redoutable Divinité."

[73] Ed. A., pp. 98-99.

La montagne *Muglyn* (Ed. B : *Muglijn* ; Ed. C : *Mugliin*) est le 梅嶺 *Meï-ling* (*Môï-leng*), qui sépare la province du *Kouang-toung* de celle du *Kiang-si* et par où passe la route qui conduit de *Nan-chioung-tchéou*, dernière ville du *Kouang-toung* de ce côté, à 南安府 *Nan-an-fou*, première cité méridionale du *Kiang-si*. Je parlerai plus loin du personnage nommé *Chankienling* (*Chankieuling*), Ed. B : l'Ed. C. ne cite pas son nom) qui n'est autre que 張九齡 *Tchang-kiéou-ling*, celebre ministre d'Etat au temps de la dynastie des *T'ang*, ainsi que de l'œuvre qu'il fit executer à la passe du *Meï-ling*.

L'Ambassade s'arrêta quatre jours à *Nan-chioung-tchéou* : elle quitta les bateaux qui l'avaient amenée et fit ses préparatifs pour prendre la voie de terre et traverser le *Meï-ling*. Le bagage, dit Nieuhoff, fut mis en ordre et bien empaqueté.

"Le cinquième jour les Ambassadeurs partirent avec une partie des Presens, qui furent precedés du Mandarin du jeune Vice-Roy de *Canton*, qui comme fourrier estoit obligé de pourveoir à leur logement. Le lendemain nous suivimes les Ambassadeurs escortés du Mandarin *Pinxentou*, avec le reste de nostre bagage. . . . Les Ambassadeurs, pour estre moins fatiguez, se firent porter dans des chaises à bras, par des porteurs bien experts en ce mestier. . . . Ils reposerent à my-chemin en un Bourg nommé *Susan*, planté sur une Montagne.

"Le lendemain à l'aube du jour, les Ambassadeurs monterent à cheval, et vers le midy penetrerent bien avant dans les effroyables montagnes qui separent la Province de *Quantung* de celle de *Kiangsi*, où on remarque plusieurs Temples bastis à l'antique, dont l'un des plus somptueux sert de limites à ces deux Provinces. Ces montagnes nous auraient parües trois fois plus épouventables, si nous n'eussions fiché nos yeux sur leurs plaisantes et agréables vallées, capables d'y attirer beaucoup de monde. Deux heures devant le Soleil Couchant

nous découvrimes la Ville de *Nangan*, Capitale de la Province de *Kiangsi*." [74]

Le 梅嶺 *Meï-ling* (*Môï-leng*) s'appelle également 大庾嶺 *Ta-yu-ling* (*Taï-yi-leng*) et 東嶠山 *Toung-kiao-chan* (*Tong-kiou-san*). A l'epoque de la dynastie des 秦 *Ts'in* (221 av. J.C.), cette chaine faisait partie de 五嶺 *Ou-ling* ou *Cinq chaînes de montagnes* qui formaient alors la frontière méridionale de l'empire (*Cf.* à ce sujet, Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual* p. 316, No. 148).[75] C'est le 臺嶺 *T'aï-ling* (*T'oï-ling*) dont parlent les Annales des *Han* postérieurs (後漢書) et le 石閭山 *Che-yen-chan* (*Siek-yim-san*) ou, d'après le Commentaire du *Choueï-king* (水經注) se trouvait la source du 東溪 *Toung-ki* (*Tong-k'aï*).

Les auteurs ne sont pas d'accord quant à l'origine du nom *Meï-ling* : d'après les uns, il aurait été donné à la chaîne parce qu'on y trouve beaucoup de 梅 *Meï* (*Môï*) ou pruniers (*prunus Mume*) : on dit à ce propos que les branches de ces arbres, qui sont exposées au nord, ne commencent à se couvrir de fleurs que lorsque celles, qui sont exposées au sud, ont perdu les leurs. Selon d'autres, il devrait son origine à un certain 梅鋗 *Meï Kiuan*, également connu sous le nom de 梅將軍 *Meï Tsiang-kiun*, Maréchal *Meï*.

En ce qui concerne le nom de 大庾 *Ta-yu* (*Taï-yi*), il viendrait de celui d'une ville qu'un 監軍 *Kien-kiun*, nommé 庾 *Yu* aurait bâti dans les environs au temps de la dynastie des *Han* antérieurs (前漢), dans une expédition pour reduire le pays de 南越 (la province actuelle du *Kouang-toung* était comprise, avec d'autres régions, sous cette dénomination). La ville du district de 大庾 *Ta-yu* constitue la ville de *Nan-an-fou* (*Kiang-si*).

[74] Ed. A., p. 99.

[75] Le nom de 嶺南 *Ling-nan* (*Leng-nam*, au sud des *ling* ou *leng*) fut longtemps appliqué à la région qui forme aujourd'hui les provinces du *Kouang-toung* et du *Kouang-si* : on s'en sert encore, dans le style élevé, pour désigner la première.

Le chaîne a été appelée 東嶠山 *Toung-kiao-chan*, dit le commentaire du *Choueï-king* (水經注), parce qu'elle était la plus oriental des 五嶺 *Ou-ling*.

Elle est à quatre vingt dix *li* au nord de *Nan-chioung-tchéou* : sa hauteur est évaluée à treize cent cinquante 丈 *tchang*. 張九齡 *Tchang-kiéou-ling*, de la dynastie des 唐 *T'ang*, reçut de l'empereur l'ordre de faire une percée dans cette chaîne (奉詔開鑿). Ce mandarin ouvrit en conséquence une route dans les rochers : la gorge (咽喉) par où celle-ci passe, au sommet le plus élevé des hauteurs, fut appelée 梅關 *Meï-kouan*, (*Môï-kouan*), la passe du *Meï* (*ling*), la huitième année 嘉祐 *Kia-yéou* des 宋 (1063), lorsque la voie de *Tchang-kiéou-ling* fut bordée de murs de briques. Plus tard, sous les *Ming* (trente-sixième année 嘉靖 *Kia-tsing* = 1557), on y établit un poste militaire pour mettre un terme à des brigandages. (Cf. *T.T.*, livres CXXII et CXIII ; *T.C.*, livre CXXXVI.)

張九齡 *Tchang Kiéou-ling* vécut sous la dynastie des 唐 *T'ang*, de 673 à 740 ; sa famille habitait de longue date dans la région qui forme aujourd'hui la partie septentrionale de la province de Canton : son grand-père 君政 *Kiun-tcheng* avait été 別駕 *pié-kia* de 韶州 *Chao-tchéou* ; son père 宏愈 *Houng-yu* devint 刺史 *Ts'eu-che* de 廣州 *Kouang-tchéou* (Canton). Son appellation littéraire (字) était 子壽 *Tseu-chéou* ; il portait encore le nom de 博物 *To-vou*. De bonne heure il montra de grandes dispositions pour les belles-lettres : à sept ans, il savait déjà composer. A l'âge de treize ans, il adressa une lettre à un magistrat de *Kouang-tchéou* qui en admira le style et s'ecria : "Ce garçon pourra certainement aller loin ! 此子必能致遠." Il passa brillamment ses examens et obtint une charge à la Cour de l'empereur 玄宗 *Chuan-tsoung* : on lui donna alors le surnom de 文場元帥 *Ouen-tch'ang yuan-chouaï*, le Général-en-Chef des Belles-lettres.

En 736,—il était alors Ministre d'Etat,—lorsque tous les grands offraient à l'empereur à l'occasion de l'anniversaire de naissance (千秋) de celui-ci, les objets les plus précieux, il se contenta de présenter au souverain un traité en cinq livres, intitulé 千秋金鑑錄 *Miroir d'or de l'anniversaire de Sa Majesté*, dans lequel il expliquait les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des dynasties précédentes (前世興廢之源). Seul d'entre tous les courtisans, il ne craignait pas de faire des remontrances à son Maître sur la conduite privée et la manière de gouverner de ce dernier. Toutefois, il était très apprecié de *Chuan-tsoung* qui disait souvent le matin à ses entours : " Mes forces renaissent aussitôt chaque fois que je vois *Tchang Kiéou-ling* 每見張九齡精神頓生." Il faut ajouter que ses conseils n'etaient pas toujours suivis: néanmoins, il ne cessait d'en donner.

Avant de devenir Ministre d'Etat, il exerça plusieurs charges dans les provinces et il fut notamment 嶺南道按察使 Juge provincial du *Ling-nan* (*tao* comprenant les provinces actuelles du *Kouang-toung* et du *Kouang-si*). C'est à cette époque qu'il fit faire le passage à travers le *Meï-ling*.

Il mit l'empereur en garde contre le favori 安祿山 *An Lou-chan*, dont il avait pénétré les desseins : " Si on ne le met pas à mort," dit-il, " il deviendra certainement une calamité pour le pays ! " *Chuan-tsoung* ne l'écouta pas. Mais plus tard, quand *An Lou-chan* se révolta, l'empereur reconnut la clairvoyance de *Tchang Kiéou-ling*, qui venait de mourir de maladie à l'âge de soixante-huit ans, et, en versant des larmes, ordonna à un haut fonctionnaire d'aller faire un sacrifice à sa mémoire à 曲江 *Kiu-kiang* (ou *Chao-tchéou*), où il etait enterré, et d'offrir de magnifiques présents à sa famille. Lorsque la rebellion de *An Lou-chan* fut écrasé, *Chuan-tsoung* donna à *Tchang Kiéou-ling* le titre posthume de 始興伯 *Che-ching-po*, Comte de *Che-ching*. *Tchang Kiéou-ling* fut canonisé sous le titre de 文憲 *Ouen-chien* (ou 文獻). On

trouve sa biographie dans les Annales des *T'ang*, dans le *T.T.*, livre CCCIV, et dans le 尚友錄 *Chang-yéou-lou*, livre VIII. *Cf.* également, Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 6, No. 21.

Le "bourg nommé *Susan*, planté sur une montagne," dont parle Nieuhoff, est le village de 中站 *Tchoung-tchan* (*Tchong-tcham ; Choong-chun* dans Abel, Ellis) qui se trouve à moitié chemin entre *Nan-chioung-tchéou* et la passe du *Meï-ling*, et où les voyageurs, les porte-faix, etc., ont coutume de faire halte pour se reposer un instant avant de gravir les hauteurs les plus élevées.

Le *Meï-ling* a été décrit par Staunton (Tome II, p. 506), Barrow (Tome III, p. 29), De Guignes (Tome I, p. 275), Van Braam (Tome I, p. 66), Ellis (p. 390), Abel (p. 183), Milne (trad. française, p. 301), sous les noms de *Mé-lin*, *Mey-lin*, *Moi-ling*, *Mee-ling* et *Mei-ling* (dans la traduction française de Milne, *Mie-ling*, faute pour *Mei-ling*). Je résume les détails donnés par ces auteurs.

Au sortir de la ville de *Nan-chioung-tchéou* (*Nam-hong-tchaô*) on traverse un pont de pierre de trois arches, bien bâti, recouvert de dalles, à l'extremité duquel se trouve un monument élevé à la mémoire du constructeur. Là commence une route dallée circulant dans une vaste plaine de rizières d'où émergent quelques villages : elle est souvent bordée de petits hangars à toits de feuillages de pin où des indigènes vendent du thé et des gâteaux aux passants.

Après deux heures de marche, environ, on quitte la plaine : le chemin dallé serpente alors le long de collines couvertes de pins. Sa largeur varie depuis dix jusqu'à vingt pieds. Des rizières occupent quelques terrains bas. Ici et là, quelques groupes de maisons. On fait halte au village de 中站 *Tchoung-tchan* (*Tchong-tcham*) qui n'a rien de remarquable : Il se compose d'une longue suite de maisons et de paillottes : celles-ci servent d'abri aux coolies employés à transporter des marchandises à travers la montagne. Ce village est à environ

quatre heures de marche des faubourgs de *Nan-chioung-tchéou* (*Nam-hung-tchaô*).

Au dessus de ce point, la route dallée continue en faisant mille zigzags, afin de faciliter l'ascension. Le paysage a un aspect sauvage et étrange. On a autour de soi d'innombrables rochers élevés, empilés en quelque sorte les uns sur les autres et constituant ainsi des amoncellements aux formes les plus fantastiques : Ici, d'immenses piramides gigantesques ; là, dirait-on, des ruines de châteaux du Moyen-âge. L'action du temps et des éléments leur a donné les aspects les plus multiples qui échappent à toute description. Ce sont des pierres granulaires ressemblant beaucoup au calcaire. On s'en sert pour faire de la chaux, et, de distance en distance, on voit au milieu d'eux des fours à chaux dont la fumée bleuâtre, poussée par le vent dans toutes les directions, ajoute encore à la singularité de la scène. Ces roches sont en grande partie couvertes de lichens, et quelques unes sont boisées : Entre leurs interstices se précipitent des ruisseaux impétueux qui coulent dans les bas-fonds où l'on aperçoit quelques champs de riz, des pins et des habitations en terre ou en briques sèches.

Le long de la route, de temps en temps, s'élevent des reposoirs, édifices composés d'un toit posé sur quatre piliers de briques, servant d'abri aux porteurs lorsque le temps est mauvais ou de halte. Cette voie de communication est la seule qui existe de ce côté entre le *Kouang-toung* et le *Kiang-si*, aussi est-il très fréquenté : on y rencontre deux files presque non interrompues de porteurs de fardeaux, allant et venant. Ces porteurs sont généralement par couples, ayant sur les épaules un bambou auquel sont suspendus les bagages des voyageurs, des ballots de marchandises, ou des paniers d'osier renfermant du tabac, du thé, de la porcelaine, des étoffes ou des pots d'huile à brûler. On dit que cinquante mille individus gagnent ainsi leur vie à transporter des

marchandises ou des voyageurs à travers le passage. Ils offrent un spectacle curieux. Ils marchent d'un pas rapide et mesuré, chantant et se répondant les uns aux autres. Parmi eux, il y a bon nombre de femmes, associées souvent ensemble, mais quelquefois avec un homme, par groupes de dix ou douze, et toujours portant des fardeaux aussi lourds que ceux confiés aux porteurs.

En approchant de la passe, la vue est excessivement pittoresque : là, la route est coupée dans le roc à une profondeur de vingt-cinq pieds environ ; de tous côtés, les hauteurs sont boisées, couvertes de pins (*pinus sinensis*) principalement, abruptes, escarpées, et, à une certaine distance, la gorge ne parait être qu'une simple poste. Au plus haut point de la passe, on voit, à peu de distance du chemin, un temple dedié à Confucius qui est bâti sur des rochers et entourés de rocs élevés. Un peu plus loin, on arrive à une poste cintrée, plantée au milieu de la route, entre les rochers, qui indique la frontière du *Kouang-toung* et du *Kiang-si*. C'est le 梅關 *Meï-kouan*, (*Môï-kouan*) où se trouvent un poste militaire et quelques maisons. La passe parait avoir une cinquantaine de pieds de long sur vingt à vingt-cinq de large : de chaque côté, les rochers s'élevent à une trentaine de pieds. Ils sont soutenus pas des arcs-boutants ou pierre de taille. Ce sont de grès argileux très-compactes. Ceux qui sont près de la poste sont ornés d'inscriptions en gros caractères. L'une d'elles est ainsi conçue : 天理人情 *T'ien-li jen-ts'ing*, "Raison Céleste et Sentiments humains."

À l'entrée de la passe, du côté de Canton, sont quelques 梅樹 *Meï-chou*, pruniers (*prunus mume*), dont la présence est de nature à fortifier le dire de ceux qui prétendent que le nom de *Meï-ling* vient de ce qu'il y croît des pruniers (*meï*).

Le *Meï-kouan*, point le plus élevé de la chaine, est à dix-huit milles de *Nan-chioung-tchéou*, et à sept milles de *Nan-an-fou*. C'est ce passage qui a été percé par *Tchang*

Kiéou-ling sous la dynastie des *T'ang*. Plus tard, il fut consolidé au moyen de briques faites avec la terre de la montagne.

Le sommet de la montagne presente une stratification horizontale bien distincte, mais il est divisé en masses superposées ayant l'aspect de marches d'escalier. Ce grès est à petits grains; fraichement cassé, il a presque la couleur gris foncé de l'argile schisteuse; mais il est rougeâtre partout où il a été longtemps exposé à l'air. Le *Meï-ling* a une altitude d'environ douze cents pieds au dessus des plaines de *Nan-chioung-tchéou* (*Kouang-toung*) et de *Nan-an-fou* (*Kiang-si*). D'après Staunton, qui le décrit sans donner le nom, il serait à huit mille pieds au-dessus du niveau de la mer.

Arrivé au sommet du *Meï-ling* on a devant soi un immense et magnifique panorama: La plume est impuissante à le décrire. Autour de soi, des rochers menaçants, des ravins aux noires profondeurs, les uns et les autres se succédant et se dominant dans un disordre sauvage; des montagnes entassées, amoncelées, tapissées de verdure, ornées de bouquets de pins. A perte de vue, se déroule le chemin dallé, tracé par la main des hommes à travers des rochers monstrueux et des jongles épaisses, formant quelquefois une sorte d'escalier et circulant en zigzags du sommet à la base.

A l'est et à l'ouest, la superbe chaine du *Meï-ling*, suivant la direction de ces deux points cardinaux, composée d'une succession de pics élevés, de vallées profondes, et se perdant de chaque côté à l'horizon.

Au sud, la vaste plaine de *Nan-chioung-tchéou*, une contrée couverte de champs cultivés où l'oeil se repose parfois sur des villages entourés d'arbres, rappelant les oasis dans le désert, et de collines plus ou moins boisées.

Au nord, on découvre une vue splendide sur la province du *Kiang-si*: aussi loin que l'on peut voir, une immense plaine bien cultivée, ayant toutefois quelques espaces incultes et

desolés, bornée à l'horizon par des montagnes bleuâtres. Ici et là, éparpillées au hasard, des collines qui n'apparaissent que comme de petites meules de foin. La ville de *Nan-an-fou*, ressemblant à une amas de tuiles, le *Kan-kiang*, qui prend sa source dans le versant septentrional, traverse cette cité et se dirige vers le lac *Po-yang*, a l'aspect d'un ruban d'argent fuyant au loin en spirales.

Staunton a parlé en ces termes de l'effet produit par le *Meï-ling* quand on en fait l'ascension du côté du *Kiang-si* : "The travellers began to ascend the highest of those eminences, the summit of which was confounded with the clouds above it. Two of these clouds, as they appeared at least to some of the spectators, were without motion, and left a void regular space between them ; but after the travellers had ascended a long way upon a circuitous road, so traced for the purpose of being practicable for horsemen, they were astonished to find that those steady clouds formed themselves the summit of the mountain, cut down by dint of labour, in order to render the ascent somewhat less steep. Difficult as this passage still continues, it is so much less than before the top of the mountain was thus cut through, that the statue of the mandarin who had it done (*Tchang Kiéou-ling*) is honoured with a niche in some of the Chinese temples hereabouts."

Les atlas de Staunton, de De Guignes, etc. renferment des vues du *Meï-ling*.

XVI.—Il ne saurait entrer dans le cadre de cette étude de suivre l'Ambassade Hollandaise, après sa sortie de la province du *Kouang-toung*, dans son voyage à travers la Chine sur le *Kan-kiang*, le lac *Po-yang*, le *Yang-tse-kiang*, le Grand Canal, le *Peï-ho*. Je me bornerai à rappeller l'accueil qui lui fut fait à Peking ainsi que les résultats qu'elle obtint.

Les Ambassadeurs arrivèrent à la capitale le 17 juillet 1656 et prirent immediatement contact avec de hauts

dignitaires de la Cour qui les *interviewèrent*, selon l'expression moderne, et leur posèrent mille questions touchant leur pays, leur gouvernement, etc. "Un certain Jesuite, qui depuis quarante et six ans, avoit vescu avec estime en la Cour des Empereurs de la Chine" leur servit de "Truchement." "Ce bon Père se faisoit nommer *Adam Scaliger* (Schaal), et se disoit natif de *Cologne*; homme de grand aage, tout barbu, vestu, et rasé à la Tartare." Il parait, d'après Nieuhoff, que ce "bon Père," loin de prêter ses bons offices aux Hollandais, s'appliqua au contraire à les peindre, auprès des mandarins, "sous les plus noires couleurs." "Ce qui estonna d'avantage les Ambassadeurs, fut le rapport qu'on leur fit des fausses menées du Père *Adam*, et de ses complices Jesuites, qui leur avoient fait espérer de montagnes d'or."

Après une longue attente, de nombreux pourparlers et incidents, les Ambassadeurs furent enfin reçus par l'empereur le 2 Octobre, sur le même pied et avec la même cérémonie que les envoyés du Grand Lama du Tibet, du Grand *Mogol* et de princes Mongols, c'est à dire à titre de vassaux. Conduits devant le trône du Fils du Ciel, ils accomplirent le salut dit 磕頭 *K'o-t'éou* :[76] "Le Heraut cria à haute voix, *Allés et presentés vous devant le Throne*: Auquel cri nous avançames. Il cria en suite, *prenés vostre rang*, et nous le prîmes; puis il dit *Agenoüillés vous*, et nous le fîmes: il cria encore, *enclinés vous trois fois en terre*, comme nous fîmes, puis il dit, *Levés vous*, et nous nous levâmes, et finalement après qu'il ût crié, *retournés en vos places*, nous nous retirâmes aussi-tost à costé, et retournâmes en nostre lieu. On mena en suite nos Ambassadeurs et celuy du *Grand Mogol*, vers un Theatre élevé, sur lequel estoit une petite place haute de quinze ou seize pieds, dans laquelle ou regardoit le Throne. Nous fumes encor icy obligés de nous agenoüiller une fois, et

[76] Ou 叩頭. On s'agenouille trois fois et on frappe neuf fois le sol de son front (三跪九叩).

de baissée la teste. Ces ceremonies estant achevées, on nous fit asseoir, et on nous presenta dans des tasses de bois du *The* de *Tartarie* mélé avec du lait."

Peu après, conformement au reglement des Statuts de l'empire ayant trait aux pays tributaires, les Hollandais furent invités à des festins qui eurent lieu au *li-pou* : " Les Ambassadeurs des *Sutadses,* des *Lammas* et du *Grand Mogol* furent aussi de la partie." " Avant que de se mettre à table, ils furent obligés de tourner leur face vers l'Occident (à cause que l'Empereur estoit pour lors de ce costé là) et de s'agenoüiller par trois fois, comme ils firent devant son Throne."

Le 16 Octobre, jour de leur départ pour retourner à Canton, ils reçurent "la lettre que sa Majesté Imperiale avoit fait escrire au General de *Batavie.* Elle estoit dictée en deux langues, sçavoir en *Chinoise* et en *Tartare* : ses bords estoient clorés, et le clos estoit parsemé de paillettes d'or et d'argent, et tout à l'entour elle estoit peinte et figurée de dragons d'or." Elle renfermait le passage suivant : " Vous m'avés demandé la permission de venir trafiquer en mon Empire, d'y transporter de vos denrées, et d'en faire des échanges pour le commun accommodement et profit de nos Sujets. Toutefois à cause de la distance de nos Regions, des vents impétueux qui font icy fort souvent échoüer les Vaisseaux contre des brisans, et que les neiges, les gresles et les glaces ferment souvent nos rivieres et nos havres, j'aurois un extréme déplaisir d'apprendre le malheur, qui pourroit facilement arriver à ceux que vous envoyeriez cy après. Si pourtant vous trouvez bon de les exposer a ces hazards, je vous conseille de ne les envoyer qu'une fois en huit ans, jusques au nombre de cent testes, dont vingt pourront monter, et venir au lieu où je tiens ma Cour : Et alors vous pourrez amener vos marchandises en vostre logement, sans estre obligé de les debiter à *Canton.* J'ay trouvé meilleur cet expédient, à cause

de l'affection et de la bienveillance que je vous porte, lequel j'ose me promettre qu'il vous sera et agreable, et profitable."

Après que lecture de ce document eut été faite aux Hollandais, un "Conseiller" prit la lettre, "la roula, et l'envelopa dans une étoffe ou bande de drap de soie jaune, puis la delivra à nos Ambassadeurs, qui la receurent les genous en terre, et à teste baissée."

Les envoyés Hollandais,—qui n'étaient au demeurant que de simples négociants chargés d'une mission par le Gouverneur de Batavia, et non pas des agents officiels délegués par le Gouvernement des Provinces-Unies,—furent reçus en résumé comme des "porteurs de tribut," selon la tradition séculaire de la Chine, et les cadeaux qu'ils apportaient furent acceptés à titre de "*tribut*." L'Empereur les autorisa à venir lui apporter tribut tous les huit ans. L'Ambassade ne procura donc aucun avantage commercial à la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, et elle n'eut d'autre résultat que de faire passer les Provinces-Unies pour tributaires de la Chine et d'augmenter ainsi la liste des Etats vassaux du Fils du Ciel, destinée à figurer dans le Recueil des Statuts de la dynastie regnante et dans les Annales Chinoise.

THE FINANCIAL CAPACITY OF CHINA.

By E. H. PARKER.

Part I.— *What goes to Peking.*

Although it is the fashion to speak contemptuously of the all-prevailing corruption which eats into the heart of every branch of Chinese finance, yet there are certain palliating circumstances to account for it, and even to justify it. Throughout the whole of what may be called the "general" Chinese history, from the time of Confucius to this day, there is singularly little mention of financial matters. In the history of each successive dynasty there are, of course, special chapters upon revenue considerations; and, as time goes on, and the out-of-the-way corners of Chinese literature come to be explored in turn, specific and valuable light will doubtless be thrown by these chapters upon the historical bearings of each financial problem. But at present the dozen or so of serious students who have made Chinese literature their field have not taken up this particular branch, and what little we know of revenue is confined to the practical problems of to-day.

In the earliest times provinces were delivered over to princes and satraps to "eat," and the people were very much in the position of Russian serfs or English villeins. In the same way successful officials and Court favourites were rewarded with so many hundred or thousand households "to eat," and the general idea seems to have been that local

rulers were at liberty to make what they could out of the populations under their care so long as the lines of postal communication were kept open, the public peace preserved, the land-tax, salt-gabelle, and other Imperial dues and tributes duly forwarded to the capital. When the present Manchu dynasty came into power 250 years ago, it found the empire a prey to the most degenerate form of this degenerate system. Scions of the Imperial blood, eunuchs, Court favourites, panders and harpies of all descriptions had for a century past fastened like vampires upon the people's throats, and the whole country, in hollow-cheeked hungry despair, thus became an easy quarry to the robust, and at that time physically and mentally healthy Manchus. But, though the early Emperors of this dynasty made it their first care to prune away financial excrescences, stay private peculations, and give the people (then reduced to ten million households) a chance of recovery, it must not be forgotten that they entered upon their Imperial career as proprietors of a patrimony. Though there always were (and still are in a degenerate form) Manchu military garrisons at a score or more of provincial centres, yet the main body of Manchus have always remained in Peking, and have there, on the circumference as it were, sucked as much of the juice of the Imperial orange as they could get at, with such a limited leverage power at their command. The "loyalty" of the Chinese official body, which forms nine-tenths of the whole, was from the beginning based partly upon fear and partly upon self-interest, and nearly all the Chinese satraps revolted as soon as ever they got a chance. The conquest of the Empire, after the Manchus had securely seated themselves in Peking, had to be undertaken largely with Chinese troops, simply "stiffened" a little with a Manchu regiment here and there, just as we British stiffen the Egyptians, West-

Indian regiments, or Sikhs. Hence the idea has always been that China belongs to the Chinese, and that the Chinese official body, which for countless generations back has feasted upon the people, but has been at the same time born of the people, has an inherent right to "eat" its way, subject to the general controlling power of "Heaven's Vicegerent," whoever he may chance to be. When it is remembered that "government" in China does absolutely nothing for the people except tax them, and that it practically pays no salaries or travelling-expenses to its officials, it cannot be wondered at that officials try to "make their pile" whilst they can; and that the people, all of whom have an equal chance of becoming "eaters," are perfectly willing to be themselves devoured up to the customary point.

When these reservations are made, we may rather wonder that things are not worse than they are than that they are so bad as they are. Had not Chinese finances been disorganized by the Taiping Rebellion, Opium War, influx of Europeans, and general disturbance caused by the infiltration of "civilisation," we might have had good ground to wonder at the moderation and sweet reasonableness of China in financial matters. At her worst, China never seems to have descended to the infamous financial depths of Turkey or Persia, and it is to the credit of the present dynasty, more especially, that eunuchs have never been suffered to occupy responsible posts. China is, in fact, a vast republic, where the people manage their own affairs, subject to the duty of keeping the peace. I have wandered over thousands of miles in China, and found with amazement that (except at the large towns, which are all, so to speak, vampire centres) there is absolutely no trace of Imperial government of any kind beyond the periodical arrival of tax-gatherers or police bullies. Births, marriages, deaths, instruction, religion,

roads, bridges, police, sanitation (if any), family feuds, civil disputes, festivals, often even criminal cases,—these are all purely private matters, arranged, where the family cannot settle them, by the village or town elders in conclave. The city mandarin is usually a harmless individual. As often as not he is well-disposed and anxious to do right; but he is usually in the hands of his "belly-band" (the man who advances his travelling expenses from Peking, and hangs about his victim until paid). The commissioned officials pass their whole lives in their yamêns and sedan-chairs; never see even each other except in full dress; never see any society except at occasional male dinners; and never see anything of popular life at all: in fact they are not allowed to hob-nob with local people. The harpies and underlings are all unpaid, when paid at all, and these are really the true and only "officials" who come into daily contact with the people. As the Chinese say, "the big fish eat the little fish, the little fish the grubs, and so on down to the mites." The Emperor expects his million or so from each viceroy or governor, the viceroy or governor his myriad or thousand from each prefect or magistrate, who, in turn, must humour and feed an army of tax-gatherers, police, and other harpies if they wish to pay off their "belly-band" and make their "pile." When the central government does absolutely nothing for the country, how can the Chinese viceroys, entrusted with a province, be expected to *saigner à blanc* their own people in order to feed a pack of idle Manchus at Peking? If the central government began by saying: "In future, each viceroy will draw £10,000, each governor £5,000, each treasurer, judge, intendant £3,000, each prefect £2,000, each magistrate £1,000, each tax-gatherer and policeman £100 a year from the nearest European customs official," reform would be comparatively easy. It is a mistake to say that the

provincial mandarins do all they can to thwart Sir ROBERT HART'S Customs, which produces £4,000,000 a year. At least half of this is "appropriated" by the Peking Board of Finance to provincial uses, and the provincial authorities willingly support the Customs up to a certain point; but what they certainly will *not* do is encourage further centralisation of finance, except and in so far as concurrent arrangements are made to devote a portion of the receipts to provincial uses. Bad though the provincial governments may be, they are not worse than the Peking government, and the Peking government is no worse than the Palace. All are tarred with the same brush.

Let us now descend from generalities to a few specific facts. Let us begin with the expenditure of the Emperor himself. Beginning with the year 1866, the annual sum to be sent by the various provincial customs stations to the Imperial Household Office was fixed at Taels 300,000 (then about £100,000, but now only equal to half that amount in gold). Two years later it was found that this amount was insufficient, and it was raised to Taels 600,000. This sum is annually "appropriated" by the Board of Revenue before the beginning of the year in which it is due. Half has to reach Peking before the middle of July, and the balance a month before the end of the Chinese year or, say, December. The appropriations ordered by the Board for the year 1896 are as follow:—

Chekiang province, Salt dues fund	...	...	Taels	50,000	
Kwangtung „ „	...	...	„	50,000	
Fukien „ Tea dues fund	...	...	„	50,000	
Foochow native customs receipts	...	...	„	100,000	
Foochow foreign „ „	...	...	„	50,000	
Shanghai „ „ „	...	...	„	50,000	
North Kwangtung native customs	...	...	„	100,000	
Kewkiang native customs	...	...	„	150,000	

Most of these appropriations are constant year by year, but, to take the year 1887 as an instance of change, in that year the Hu Peh salt *likin* took the place of the Shanghai foreign customs; and the Kiang Su salt-gabelle (Taels 120,000) and native customs combined (at Hwai-an, Tls. 30,000) took that of the two Foochow customs. It must also be explained that in 1893 the Board of Finance advanced Taels 212,390 to the Buttery Office of the Household, which sum has to be deducted and repaid in 1896. It will readily be conceded, however, that the total appropriation of Taels 600,000 for the Imperial Household, which includes the Buttery and Factors' Office, besides innumerable minor departments—Privy Purse, Jewellery Vaults, Porcelain, Silk, and Tea Stores, Dyeing House, Wardrobe, Brigade Pay-office, Eunuch Office, Worship and Fruit Offices, Pasturage, Stewards, Works, Judicial, Police, etc. etc.—is not excessive.

Of almost equal urgency, and of more than equal importance with the appropriation for the Household, is that for the maintenance of the Bannermen of Peking. Every genuine Manchu is registered as belonging to one of the Eight Banners, and as such is entitled, if on the active list, to a salary of Taels 3 or Taels 2 a month accordingly as he is a *ukesen* or *orbo*, *i.e.* a first or second class soldier. The petty officers receive Tls. 4 or Tls. 5, and all get a loan of six or seven months' pay by way of outfit on appointment, repayable in instalments. In addition to these, there are the supernumerary class awaiting vacancies, and the *sula* or "men at large" class, without either pay or prospective position. Of course most of these Manchus have families. For many years past the annual demand upon the provinces for what is usually called by Europeans in China this "Peking Contingent" has been fixed at Taels 7,000,000, which would provide for 200,000 families at Taels 35 a year each family. As a matter

of fact, up to the date of the incursions of Europeans half-a-century ago, there were about 200,000 paid Manchu soldiery in all, half at Peking and half distributed at such centres as Canton, Foochow, Hangchow, Nanking, etc., but recent events have so disorganized Chinese arrangements, and so altered the relative values of Manchus, Chinese "soldiers," and Chinese "braves" as available fighting material, that it will take some years for things to settle down. It is only possible to get a general idea of the detailed appropriations under this head by comparing the specific items year by year. Where there has been a variation, it is shewn in the second column. Thus we get :—

Hu Peh Province.

Salt *likin*	Taels 150,000 ;	Taels 100,000
Land-tax	,, 300,000 ;	,, 450,000
General *likin*	,, 100,000 ;	,, 120,000
Foreign customs ...	,, 150,000 ;	,, 300,000

Hu Nan Province.

Land-tax	Taels 200,000 ;	Taels 250,000
General *likin*	,, 50,000	
Salt *likin*	,, 50,000	

Canton Province.

Foreign customs ...	Taels 260,000 ;	Taels 160,000
Taiping ,, ...	,, 150,000 ;	,, 50,000
Foreign customs (for Foochow)	,, 24,000	
Salt taxes	,, 200,000 ;	,, 220,000
Land-tax	,, 100,000	
Salt interest fund ...	,, 50,000 ;	,, 100,000
Salt additional fund ...	,, 50,000 ;	,, 60,000
Likin	,, 100,000	

An Hwei Province.

Land-tax	Taels 200,000	
General *likin*	„ 100,000 ;	Taels 50,000
Native interior customs...	„ 30,000 ;	„ 60,000
Wuhu port customs ...	„ 50,000 ;	„ 30,000

Shan Si Province.

Land-tax	Taels 450,000 ;	Taels 500,000

Shan Tung Province.

Land-tax	Taels 400,000
Salt taxes	„ 210,000
Foreign customs ...	„ 50,000

Chê Kiang Province.

Land-tax	Taels 450,000 ;	Taels 400,000
Salt tax	„ 220,000 ;	„ 270,000
Inland customs	„ 40,000	
Foreign customs ...	„ 100,000 ;	„ 200,000
Likin	„ 100,000	

An Hwei Province.

Land-tax	Taels 200,000 ;	Taels 300,000
Inland customs	„ 60,000 ;	„ 100,000
Fêng-yang customs ...	„ 30,000	
Likin	„ 50,000 ;	„ 100,000
Wuhu customs (native and foreign) ...	„ 50,000 ;	„ 30,000

Kiang Si Province.

Land-tax	Taels 350,000 ;	Taels 390,000
Likin	„ 100,000	
Inland customs	„ 30,000	
Foreign customs ...	„ 100,000	

Kiang Su Province.

Land-tax	Taels 150,000	
Salt tax	„ 250,000	
Foreign customs ...	„ 240,000 ;	Taels 210,000
Yangchow customs ...	„ 30,000	
Likin	„ 100,000	

Ho Nan Province.

Land-tax	Taels 200,000

Fu Kien Province.

Land-tax	Taels 200,000	
Salt tax	„ 150,000	
Tea tax	„ 200,000	
Foreign customs ...	„ 200,000 ;	Taels 360,000

Chih Li Province.

Salt tax	Taels 250,000
Inland customs	„ 40,000
Reed and fuel tax ...	„ 30,000

Sz Chwan Province.

Salt taxes	Taels 150,000
Extra land-tax charges	„ 120,000

It will be noticed from the above lists that certain poor provinces such as Yün Nan, Kwei Chou, Kwang Si, Shen Si, and Kan Suh, contribute nothing whatever to the two chief metropolitan items. The rich province of Sz Chwan has, nominally, the lightest land-tax (Taels 668,000), but in effect it is the heaviest and most complicated. I spent a year in that province and found that "customary ratings," allowances, etc. practically made the land-tax in some districts ten times its nominal charge. I once came across a proclamation in Sz Chwan stating that Taels 250,000 had to go to the Peking Bannermen fund, but I have never seen this item in the list of Board appropriations. When the present Manchu dynasty came into power 250 years ago, Sz Chwan was almost depopulated by rebel bands. The greater part of Chih Li province was apportioned out to Manchus, who still own large estates, usually farmed for them by Chinamen. Probably this is partly the reason why neither of these two important provinces have any corresponding metropolitan charge and none upon their land-tax.

The above two main items, amounting to a very little more than one million sterling at the lowest recent rate of exchange, or to two millions sterling at the rates prevailing twenty years ago, may be described as the mainstay of the throne of the dynasty, and of the Manchu soldiery who share the fortunes of the dynasty as "eaters" of China. No delay in forwarding these sums is either tolerated or attempted: it is quite understood by the viceroys and governors that these are a first charge on their revenues, and that, even if the *likin* or customs, or salt revenue, or land-tax, or any other fund appropriated may fall off in any one year, the deficit must be made up by hook or by crook from some other source. So long as this one million or two million sterling reaches Peking, the ruling Manchus are not seriously alarmed. Rebellions,

wars, famines, and other calamities may impoverish, ruin, or decimate a province, and the Emperor expresses his concern in the most paternal and decorous language; he may even and often does divert funds intended for Peking to temporary provincial uses, but it may be roundly said that this Manchu pension fund is a safe thing at all times. Of course it might be argued that China, as a homogeneous empire, would be much better off if a pack of idle Manchus were made to work for a living; and, in support of this view, it might easily be shewn that the Manchus and Chinese, at least in the north province, are now practically indistinguishable, both in appearance and language; but if that view were tolerated, the next question would naturally be: What is the use of wearing a Manchu pigtail and submitting to a Manchu dynasty at all? Thus the ruling family is, in its own interests, obliged to hedge itself in, whether it likes it or no, and whether it be good for the empire at large or no, with a useless mob of degenerate tribesmen, too proud to work, not allowed to leave the headquarters of their banner, behind the times in warlike capacity, and inferior in intellect, or at least in literary aptitude, to the Chinese, their nominal subjects. When the Manchus conquered China 250 years ago, the total revenue collected by them was under Tls. 15,000,000. In the palmiest days of the empire, say a century ago, the revenue reaching the control of the central government never exceeded forty million taels, or (at present rates of exchange) about £7,000,000 sterling. Three-fourths of this total which, however, had better be called £14,000,000, so as to accord with the then value of silver, were derived from the land-tax, and the other fourth from the salt and customs charges. But the Taiping rebellion threw much of the land in the Lower Yang-tsze valley out of cultivation, and even this year (1896) the Governor of Chêh Kiang province reports that nearly a

million English acres remain uncultivated. The position is now reversed. In 1887 it was officially reported by the Viceroy CHANG CHÏ-TUNG that *likin*, salt, and native customs produced Tls. 30,000,000 a year, which is probably half as much again as the total average yield of the land-tax.

The rule from 1816 to 1862 was that the land-taxes on the first crop should be paid in the summer, and the taxes on the second in the winter; but now the full tax is only collected in abundant years, whilst a tax on the actual yield only, after exemptions made, is all that is collected in other years, three-tenths being expected on the first crop, five on the second, and two-tenths before the accounts are made up. A few years back it was ordered that the first crop collection should be reported before the expiry of the current year, the second before the summer of the ensuing year, together with the final closure of the account. Magistrates failing to send in as much as one-tenth of what is due are reported and placed under suspension, though left at their posts, until the close of the account, receiving reinstatement if payment be made before the account is closed.

But the revenue is not so elastic now as it used to be in the palmy days of K'ANG-HI and K'IEN-LUNG. If money were urgently wanted then, a million sterling could be, and often was, easily raised by temporarily resorting to the sale of office and titles. In 1679 K'ANG-HI allowed poor people with Imperial titles to privately sell their decorations to those who were better off. In the year 1813 the Emperor KIA-K'ING raised Tls. 27,000,000 by the public sale of official titles. During the Taiping rebellion the traffic in honorary titles was promiscuous and wholesale. The present Emperor has been somewhat fitful, now abolishing the whole traffic root and branch, now permitting it under circumscribed conditions, for limited periods, in certain provinces only. By the latest

accounts, the people are at last getting thoroughly tired of it; the goose with the golden eggs has, in fact, been killed; for the mistake has been recently made of postponing the promised promotion rights of each group of purchasers to the prior claims of subsequent expectants under a still more urgent pressure of circumstances, and the fish will no longer bite. Of late years bureaux for the sale of Imperial titles have been established in Singapore, Penang, and other British colonies. It is not at all likely that such a course would be tolerated by the more jealous French, Spanish, and Dutch authorities in Saigon, the Phillippines, or Batavia; but in California and Australia several successful hauls in the shape of famine and war subscriptions have been made of late years; and, in fact, wherever the easy-going Anglo-Saxon race tolerates the Chinaman at all, there the needy Chinese government is always on the look-out to make what money it can out of its nationals.

During the last century, and until the war of 1842, the taxes on tea, fish, rushes, property transfers (now 3 °/₀ *ad valorem* in Canton), mines, etc., were insignificant, and the only other serious item was a kind of *octroi* or local production tax. In addition to the gross total of seven (or fourteen) millions sterling in money, there were about 200,000 tons of rice and millet, sent to Peking by canal, nearly all coming from the rice-producing provinces along the Yang-tsze valley. The expenditure was in those days well within the receipts, so much so, that for many years the Emperors were able to put by a quarter of their total revenues in order to form a reserve fund available in case of war. In this way the Emperor K'IEN-LUNG spent Taels 200,000,000 upon his Tartar, Tibetan, and Burmese wars, and frequently remitted both land and rice taxes, besides, without in any way distressing the people. Of an expenditure of Taels 31,000,000, about eighteen millions then went to pay the Manchu Bannermen; four

millions to defray civil and military salaries in the provinces; one million to the Household, Mongol Princes, and Public Departments; one million to the redemption of involved Manchu estates. Absolutely nothing was returned in benefits to the people, unless under that head be counted four millions spent upon the Yellow River and two millions upon horse-posts (both which items, however, concerned the interests of the Court more vitally than those of the people as a body), and Taels 140,000 upon Educational Establishments. All this, it must be remembered, refers to the past, that is, to the period anterior to the advent of foreign traders in great numbers and force. To ascertain what is at the present day the expenditure upon each head is no easy matter, for all accounts in China seem to be so arranged as to present as many anfractuosities, callosities, and complications as possible, in clearing which obstructions the silver has, of course, all the more chance of halting piecemeal on the way to its nominal destination. Thus there are allowances on the scale for the melting-pot, for sweating, for wear and tear, for freight, for escort, for the "rice" of the Board officials who receive it, for local weights, stationery, cartage, haulage, porterage, etc. etc. Wherever any question comes in of turning copper cash into silver, or taels into dollars, or *vice versâ*, of course there is a "squeeze." Then there are arrears to be dunned for, advances to be made, loans to other provinces, divertings to meet sudden or unforeseen demands, such as famines, wars, foreign loans, Imperial marriages, birthdays, funerals, etc. etc. Remissions of taxation are very troublesome, for those who have already paid their money never get it back, whilst those who receive payment have an opportunity of juggling with the date of remission, both when it begins and when it ends. All officials being tarred with the same brush, whether they wish to be tarred or no, none can be over-severe with any other erring

colleague. The system is too deep-rooted for any individual to tackle. Notwithstanding this universal corruption, accounts are kept in scrupulous good order, and fractions are often worked out to the hundred-millionth part of a tael, the very cost of writing which down, even at the low rate of wages in China, is of itself, of course, a waste of public money. In 1886 I came across the accounts of the "Grand Almoner of Peking," who calculated his fractions down to the ten-billionth part of a tael for each item.

Besides these regular remittances to Peking, there are a number of fat posts in the provinces specially reserved for palace creatures, who are in turn expected to share their quarry with the Empress, the Emperor, and the Court. Historically, most of these billets may trace their pedigree to eunuchs; but as this dynasty has stedfastly eschewed eunuch services, except in the palaces, the incumbents are often the next lowest thing to eunuchs, to wit, Manchus of the "bondsman" class, bound to render service to either the Emperor or the princes. Chief among them is the "Hoppo" of Canton, who is always a Manchu of the said "bondsman" class. The "regulation sum" which this official is bound to collect from the native custom-houses at Canton, Swatow, Hoihow and Pakhoi is about Tls. 157,000, and every year he goes through the farce of claiming credit for having "by unusual zeal and industry" collected as much as Tls. 200,000 or thereabouts. But it is well known that he pays at least that sum for his appointment, and that his only chance of keeping the post for three years—the time usually granted for making his "pile" —is to vigorously ply the palace with presents. When I was in Canton in 1878, the Viceroy Liu K'un-yi had to act several months for the Hoppo, who was obliged to go into mourning for a quarter: being himself indifferent to wealth, the Viceroy offered to the Emperor Tls. 150,000 in order to

establish at Whampoa a public school for foreign instruction. This sum only represented what the army of Customs leeches chose to give the viceroy for his own share during the quarter. The Emperor, of course, took the money, but received the offer very coldly and at once "diverted it" from its intended use to the relief of a famine in the north: the Viceroy received three steps in rank, *i.e.* nominal steps which can count as a set-off against slight punishments. A few months later the Hoppo arrested the son of a well-known Hongkong merchant, who had aided us during the war, on a trumped-up charge, and the same Viceroy (who assisted the British Consul to defeat the Hoppo's plan) told me himself that $100,000 was the "squeeze" which had originally been demanded from the man's father by the Hoppo. From what I could gather from members of the Viceroy's staff, at least Taels 1,000,000 a year in fans, silks, pearls and other presents had to be sent to Peking at intervals (according to the nature of the present) of a fortnight, a quarter, a half-year, and a year. But, of course, if any exact information touching the Hoppo's gains were allowed to leak out, the censors would get hold of it and the office would be in danger: meanwhile, in the interests of a pack of eunuchs and greedy Manchu serfs, foreign trade is permanently shackled by the harpies who are suffered to prey upon it.

The "Peking Gate," with branch stations in the mountain passes leading from Tartary and at several of the larger villages outside the metropolis, is another fat Manchu preserve. In addition to the *octroi* levied at all the gates and stations by the Controllers, a customary present is expected from each provincial officer who visits Peking on official business. The Hoppo is said to pay Taels 80,000; Viceroys, from Taels 5,000 to Taels 10,000; and minor officials according to the quality of their posts. Occasionally a viceroy or governor

of reputation like Tso Tsung-t'ang will resist, as Lord Palmerston did (or is said to have done) when dunned for his Garter fees; but, as a rule, officers of all ranks find it pays them best to conform quietly to "local custom."

The "regulation" collection is about Taels 120,000 on the original assessment, with Taels 211,000 on the improved value. The Controllers always embellish their report of having "succeeded in collecting more than the regulation sum" with a dismal story of how, "owing to the inroads of transit-passes," they have failed to make up the full sum of improved value. Previous to the new opium rules of February 1887, under which both duty and *likin* were collected by the Foreign Customs at the port of entry upon foreign opium, a sum of Taels 10 a chest used to be charged upon the drug at Peking under a regulation dating from 1859: it was officially reported by the Commissioner of Customs that over 15,000 chests (*sic*) had gone to Peking between October 1887 and October 1888,—a good quarter of the total import into China—so that, if that statement were true, 150,000 taels must have been collected annually on this alone; there must be some mistake; probably "chests" should be "pounds:" the Controllers seem to have reported it separately and to have sent the money to the Board of Revenue; for some reason they never admitted having received more than Taels 9,000, including the tax on native opium: during the year ending October 1887, only Taels 4,515 were collected, together with Taels 170 for "rice and allowances." It is evident that as the total import into Tientsin that year was only about 1,500 chests, the native newspaper which reports these facts must have made some great mistake. Ever since 1849 the Controllers have had to send Taels 8,000 a year to the Imperial Theatre, of which sum one quarter went to the Guards Office, but it is not clear from what fund this appropriation came. The average annual

amount admitted to under ordinary heads is about Taels 180,000 or Taels 200,000.

Another Manchu preserve is the Horse and Cattle Octroi of Peking, placed under the Right and Left "Wings" of the Army. All transfers of land to bannermen of all kinds, if bought from other bannermen, are supposed to be registered here, and to pay a fee or fine. The Controllers, like their colleagues of the Peking Gate, are liable to annual change, and must, therefore, make hay while the sun shines. They have abundant opportunities of pilfering; for, besides "the exemption of war horses," required by other provincial governors, they are entrusted with the purchase of "sacrificial pigs and sheep," not to say "provender for the feeding of sacrificial beasts." Besides all this, there are allowances to the Board, to special clerks, for stationery, etc. etc., all of which forces the poor men in charge to admit with sorrow that, instead of Taels 20,000 or more a-piece, they have only succeeded in collecting Taels 15,000 to Taels 17,000. Very often the difference or deficit is ignored; but sometimes the Emperor seems to be in a bad temper, and then he orders the Controllers to "make the sum up out of their own pockets." After squaring the eunuchs, each Controller (it is said) makes about Taels 10,000 a year for himself with ordinary luck. So far as can be gathered from the occasional papers published, the Board manages to get rid of most of the Taels 15,000 received in providing for sacrifices, but the balance of Taels 1,000 or Taels 2,000, which remains to the Emperor after all gods are propitiated, is usually ordered to "go to the Buttery."

The Sha-hu Customs is in one of the passes leading from Shan Si province to Peking. The Collector, who is always a Manchu, usually reports about Taels 40,000 of receipts, of which sum more than half goes in "disbursements;" but of

late years the transit-pass rules have much reduced the yield, so far at least as the Russian tea trade is concerned: the chief exports to Mongolia are tobacco and drugs; the chief imports from Mongolia are beasts, wool, skins, timber, etc. The last report, dated the spring of 1896, only submits a "balance" of under Taels 6,000, against Taels 16,000 ten years ago. The Emperor says: "Let it go to the Buttery, it need not be given to the Controller." The accounts of this office are somewhat further confused by the fact that each Controller has to "take over" ten months from his predecessor, and to add thereto two months of his own: this "ancient custom" doubtless facilitates further greasing of the palms and favours general obfuscation. About ten years ago a censor reported that the illegal exactions round Peking were one hundred-fold greater than the reported collection. He said the Controllers never went to the office, for they were afraid of the clerks setting fire to it in order to conceal the accounts. Last year part of the Board of Revenue itself was mysteriously burnt down.

Another Manchu is in charge of the Horse, Hide, and Tea Taxing stations at Kalgan, and at another pass to the East of it, called Tushi K'ou, at both of which places the writer of these lines had some trouble with the customs harpies twenty years ago. Ever since 1850 these stations have been under the Military Commandant of Tsitsihar, and the total assessment is nominally fixed at about Taels 60,000. The tea-taxes collected in 1888 amounted to about Taels 35,000, and the horse taxes to a little over Taels 10,000. Most of this sum goes to defraying the pay of the soldiery attached to a new brigade called the *tsing-jui* or "veterans;" the rest goes to various frontier salaries, stationery, expenses, etc. In the spring of this year (1896) the Emperor thus sums up the results of the 1895 collection: "The excess sum of Taels 2,468

must be paid in to the Imperial Buttery; as to the Superintendent's prayer that he may be forgiven part of the 'further sum of excess' which was expected from him, let the Board report." It appears from a comparison of several years' reports that, according to precedent, the sum of Taels 15,000 is about what is usually forfeited under this head.

There is a custom-house at Kuku Hotun or Kwei-hwa Ch'êng,—the Tenduc of Marco Polo. As the chief trade is in cattle (since the Russian tea business went to Kalgan) it may be assumed that the collection does not amount to more than Taels 10,000 a year; and I believe that most of it goes towards the support of the Manchu garrison in the cantonments a mile or two to the north-east; but so far I have not been able to gain specific information.

A custom-house at T'ung Chou on the Tientsin river, fifteen miles from Peking, collects dues on grain and pulse.

The Kia-yü Customs in Tartary (Lat. 40 Long. 98) was only established in 1885: this was one of the results of the treaty under which the Russians surrendered Ili to China. So far, the speculation seems to have been a complete failure.

About fifteen years ago a new custom-house was established at San Sing, in the Kirin province of Manchuria, "more "with the object of keeping a supervision over what passed "than in the hopes of obtaining a large revenue," which, so far, has only amounted to a very few thousand taels a year. There appear to be several other stations in Manchuria, for in 1883 the "Iron Pass" officials were stated by the viceroy to have embezzled Taels 20,000 during four years. The whole collection for the province amounts to about Taels 250,000 a year. The stations at Nung-an and Shwang-ch'êng produce about Taels 30,000 a year; they were established on the present footing in 1878. The Tartar General is at this moment wrestling with Customs corruption.

The Silk Controllers of Soochow, Hangchow, and Nanking furnish annually to the Court about Taels 40,000, Taels 80,000 and Taels 60,000 worth of apparel, ribbons, and other gewgaws. Until a few years ago, Sz Ch'wan had also to send silk goods, but this responsibility has been distributed over the above three Controllers. The money is found by the general treasury and the salt treasury forming part of the official establishment at each of those provincial capitals, and the unspent money, if any, is ordered to be sent to the Peking Seraglio. The officers are always Manchus, and are appointed for one year, during which period they make their fortunes, *i.e.* with ordinary luck. But "extraordinary" demands come down from Peking when an Imperial decease or marriage takes place, and the Controller is liable to lose money if the death of a parent forces him to retire into mourning during his *gérance*. In 1883 the Board attempted to dock the "charges" of the Nanking Silk Commissioner by thirty per cent. But he pleaded that his colleague of Hangchow was allowed Taels 1,000 a month for "expenses" in addition to his salary, and on this ground the Board consented to condone the overcharge. When the present Emperor was preparing for marriage, a special order for Taels 250,000 worth of "dragon and peacock robes" was sent down, and the various custom-houses were ordered to divide the cost between them.

About thirteen years ago a new Peking demand was created, called "a fund for increasing Peking salaries." The idea was to feed and clothe with decency the army of needy censors, chancellors, expectants, and other touts attached to the public departments, without placing them under the necessity of intriguing for a daily meal. This idea seemed to receive the unqualified support of the provincial viceroys and governors, probably because most of them had relatives in the hungry category, and also because it was not for the idle

and rapacious Manchus that their contributions were required, but for needy men of their own cloth. The fund was fixed at Taels 260,000 a year, and the authorities of nearly every province willingly offered to contribute each from Taels 5,000 to 15,000, according to the wealth of the province. But the dispute with France rather threw these arrangements out of gear; and when the Admiralty Department was started a few years later, and heavy demands were made for both Coast and Land Defence, the "Impecunious Fund" seemed to die a natural death, and I was inclined to believe the Japanese war must have knocked it completely on the head; but I see it is still flourishing. The outspoken Viceroy CHANG CHIH-TUNG, from the very first, thought it rather an undignified proceeding, and argued that, if, as it seemed, the Peking officials were deserving, the charge should be one officially placed upon the public revenues.

Certain provinces have to send to Peking, in addition to their land-tax, a quantity of grain in kind. These provinces are Chêh Kiang; the three Kiang; parts of the two Hu; Ho Nan; and Shan Tung; or, if Bretschneider's excellent map be consulted, those low-lying parts of China which form the embouchures of the Yang-tsze and Hoang-ho Rivers, and which clearly appear upon the map in question as the Plains of China. Three-tenths of the total have to be sent in the winter to represent the spring crop, and five-tenths in the summer of the following year to represent the autumn crop, the remaining two-tenths being accounted for when the account is closed. Since the Taiping rebellion the more westerly or inland provinces of Kiang Si, East Hu Peh, North Hu Nan, and Ho Nan have commuted their grain-tax for a money payment, and fencing goes on almost every year with Peking as to whether matters should not revert to the old footing, the idea on each side being, of course, to turn all possible legal

technicalities to its own profit. Nearly five million peculs (a third of a million tons) used to be sent in the halcyon days of the Empire, of which the now commuting provinces furnished about one-fifth. In 1813 the quantity was about 3,000,000 peculs, and it rose to 4,000,000 during the twenties. Just before the rebellion it was still down for 3,500,000 peculs. The full amount, and no more, is sent in good years : in short years, the full amount less authorised deductions. The provinces which do not commute now never send, in the best years, more than two million peculs. For the purposes of rice tribute, the provinces of Kiang Su and An Hwei are re-portioned into the older Kiang Peh and Kiang Nan divisions, and between them send something under a million peculs, most of which now goes by sea-going steamer. The half-million peculs contributed by Chêh Kiang also goes by sea ; but the Shan Tung grain (mostly millet) and also the Kiang Peh rice goes by canal. Until recent years a limited quantity of Chêh Kiang and Kiang Nan rice also went by canal, but this matter is still a bone of contention. In the spring of this year, the Nanking viceroy reported that 100,000 peculs of Kiang Nan rice went by canal, and that of the sea consignment one-half was actually going by sea and one-half in money. Both the canal and the sea rice finds its way to the granaries at T'ung-chou, a city about 15 miles from Peking, on the Tientsin river. Of course, there is an immense amount of corruption in connection with this tribute rice. One of the Commissioners of Weights has just been accused of cheating the Mongol bannermen out of their rice. The officials naturally prefer to deal with native boatmen rather than with definite foreign freights. As the boatmen possess certain exemptions and trading facilities, and can pilfer as much rice as they like, of course it is their interest to talk about "ruin to the boating population" when any change is

mooted. The officials in charge of the granaries juggle with the rice, and every few years a great scandal occurs; old and decayed rice is paid out in the place of new rice, weights and measures are falsified, the Manchu soldiery are found to be selling their nominal rights for what they will fetch, and to be actually buying eatable rice in the market, and so on. Peking, in short, is like a filthy colony of rats, each official living in a hole of his own, and preying, when he can and where he can, upon the public storehouse. This year a Peking official has made the suggestion that the whole paraphernalia of tribute rice should be abolished, and that the whole Peking supply should depend upon the imports of competing merchants. He considers that eight million taels a year now squandered upon stations, granaries, canals, troops, officials, and satellites, would thus be saved to the Empire. At present, however, the arrivals in the Tientsin river of innumerable rice junks every summer constitutes a most animated scene.

It is difficult to ascertain how much money is paid by the commuting provinces in lieu of rice. Kiang Si pays from Taels 750,000 to Taels 1,200,000, but has managed to amalgamate this sum with its general revenue receipts in such a way that the money does not go to Peking in a lump as used to do the grain. And notwithstanding this commutation, Kiang Si pays Chih Li province an occasional sum of money for making 434 cargo-boats on Kiang Si's behalf. Hu Nan and Hu Peh have also to send cargo-boats to Tientsin; 2,000 to 2,500 are working in all. A few years ago, the following "extras" were reported as having been levied in addition to the commuted payments due from Hu Peh province: (1) Principal and waste, Taels 3,153; (2) Donkey labour, Taels 1,005. The province of Chih Li also occasionally supplies 233 cargo-boats for Hu Nan and Hu Peh, but it does not appear at what intervals. A few years back, an unusually

honest governor of Ho Nan reported that, notwithstanding the commutation of the rice tax, the "crews of the rice-boats" had been drawing Taels 40,000 a year for "wages." His predecessors and the clerk used to divide this sum between them. A memorial from the Nanking viceroy seems to indicate that the rice which goes to Peking by way of the Canal is not a real payment in kind, but that the land-owners pay their taxes in money, and that the rice is purchased in the public market at the towns near the mouth of the Canal.

The total value of the grain which actually reaches Peking each year may be put down at something less than three million taels; so that, adding silver, silks, presents, and grain together, it is not likely that more than Taels 12,000,000 under any head ever goes in one year to the capital. This after all, in not a very large sum. Probably the people, taken as a whole, pay more than twice that amount to the collectors, sometimes five or seven times more than their due, and the greater part, of course, adheres to the fingers of the officials through whose hands it passes. Besides all this, the people taxed have to pay eight per cent "extra" for waste.

At one time there were a large number of vexatious purveyances of a petty kind; but the early emperors of the reigning dynasty, whether from good-nature or policy, abolished the greater part of them. Thus, Tsitsihar, Kirin, and Shingking have to supply spears, guns, peach-wood and eagles' feathers; Kiang Nan has to send tribute of teak, cedar, and other valuable building woods once in three years; the Nanking authorities find the money; Cheh Kiang sends scaffolding wood; Chih Li, Shan Tung, and Ho Nan saltpetre; Kirin sends birch-bark; Manchuria sends live deer, ginseng and real hartshorn; Ho Nan sends silk piece-goods, wax, tendons, cotton-cloth, sulphur; Tsitsihar, sables and frozen sturgeon; Ili a score or so of superior horses; Tarbagatai, ditto;

Wênchow, bitter oranges and silk; Kwang Si, pearls; Foochow, lichees; Kew Kiang, regular supplies of porcelain from the imperial potteries of Kiang Si; Canton, pewter, wax and oranges; Sz Ch'wan, yellow and white wax; Kwei Chou, lead, sandal-wood, tea, hartall, cinnabar; An Hwei sends lustrings, pencils, etc.; Yün Nan, copper and tea; Uliasutai (in Tartary), sable-skins and fresh jam; Sz Ch'wan, a sum for the purchase of wild ginseng (an article much coveted in the seraglio); Hangchow and An Hwei, wild roots, used as a tonic; and always reported as being very difficult to procure; Shan Si, sulphur, writing paper, coarse paper, silk, fine iron, dried persimmons, and (until recently) fresh water-melons; and so on. Of course, the authorities are at liberty to charge these sums in their official accounts, and they do, exorbitantly; but Peking does not mind that; Peking is well aware that every viceroy's budget is "cooked," and its sole care is not to "let go" too easily of anything authorised by custom. The Tartar General of Manchuria charges Taels 200 per ounce for his wild ginseng. Sometimes, as for instance when it comes out that fruits brought from a distance run to a five-pound note per pound, the censorate gets hold of the story, and the Emperor intervenes; as, for another instance, when it was discovered that the "cost" and "carriage" of Shan Si tribute reached Taels 400,000 a year, only Taels 100,000 being properly chargeable to the public account. On the other hand, if the Emperor badly wants money, he issues a peremptory order in the most likely quarter, totally regardless of the question how the provincial budget is to be adjusted. Thus, in the year 1883, the Viceroy at Nanking and the Tartar General (in charge of the foreign customs) at Foochow were ordered by the Dowager-Empress "to send Taels 80,000 apiece *at once*, from *any* source, for palace works." The palace is, however, no worse than the auditing Board, for in

the year 1883 it was proved that, out of one single year's consignment of Yün Nan copper, Taels 150,000 had been peculated by the Board officials, who were made to disgorge that sum. About twelve years ago one of the provincial governors advised that the auditors should be allowed one-tenth of one per cent. on the amounts audited, instead of being allowed to extort indefinite sums. What these indefinite sums are may be guessed from the definite charges mentioned. Thus, on a remittance of Taels 40,000 sent to Peking by the Native Customs at Ningpo, there was a charge of Taels 1,060 for the Board's food and Taels 600 for "difference in scales." Only this year (1896) a serious fire destroyed a wing of the Board of Revenue, the cost of rebuilding which (Taels 200,000) is to be half defrayed by the officials themselves. Of course, archives were destroyed on a wholesale scale, and it was only with difficulty that the "foreign loan" documents, and those connected with the Japanese peace negotiations were saved. Most probably the disaster, officially reported to have mysteriously broken out in the paint and colour department (the head of which had, of course, disappeared) was the work of incendiary peculators, afraid of the inconvenient cleaning energy of some new broom. An unusually honest member of the Peking cabinet, and also of the Chinese Foreign Office, achieved a great repute not very long ago, by "declining the presents which all viceroys, "governors, treasurers and judges have to pay the cabinet "officers when they leave for their posts in the provinces."

Annam, Corea, Nepaul, Loochoo, and Tibet used to send tribute in the shape of tusks, scents, incense, paper, etc., but of late years all these states, with the exception of the last, have gradually disappeared from the Chinese grasp. Nepaul continues to send tribute, but that is because certain profitable trading facilities are allowed: a word from England, and it

would stop. The Mussulman prince of Hami brings tribute of melons, grapes, apricot jam, etc.

In Manchuria (Kin Chou) there are extensive government horse-breeding grounds: the last report mentioned that there were 11,757 animals grazing there. The Tushetu and Sainoïn Mongols of Uliassutai also breed up imperial camels, which are officially inspected every three years; in 1887 there were over 2,000 beasts there belonging to the Manchu government. There are lesser establishments also in Kan Chou and Liang Chou of Kan Suh Province. They were reorganized in 1886, and each three animals are "bound to" breed one other every three years.

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CHINESE REVENUE.

By E. H. Parker, Esq.

Part II.

Having now seen what goes to Peking in the way of money, rice, trinkets and luxuries, let us take the Chinese provinces alphabetically, and see if, in the absence of public accounts, we can gather from stray published documents some idea of the way in which local finance is managed.

An Hwei Province.—The land-tax was reported in 1893 as being Taels 1,637,539, or Taels 1,307,087 less exemptions. The land-tax used to be Taels 1,718,824, besides a heavy grain-tax, lumped with that of Kiang Su. The land-tax pays Taels 30,000 a year for the support of the Amur armies and Taels 6,000 a month towards the trained forces kept at Nanking. The general treasury pays Taels 10,000 a year towards Grand Canal repairs, but in 1896 only half was forthcoming. The Board directs the Governor to send Taels 200,000 of land-tax, and Taels 100,000 *likin*, plus Taels 30,000 from the native Fêng-yang Customs and Taels 50,000 from the Wuhu Customs (Taels 40,000 native and Taels 10,000 foreign) to the Peking Manchu fund. For the protection of the north-east frontier Taels 100,000 of land-tax and Taels 50,000 of *likin*; from which last fund also Taels 40,000 for frontier armies. The Board directs on one occasion that Taels 20,000 of the Manchus' money be diverted to the troops in Kan Suh province: otherwise, at intervals of six years, there appears to be no change. The "impecunious Peking

official" contribution of Taels 7,000 a year had gone on from 1883 to 1893 without a break. In 1893 it was taken from a fund called grain-tax commutation.

We may get some sort of a general idea of how the land-tax averages in other provinces by taking the specific case of An Hwei. The governor has quite recently reported that there are 382,000 *k'ing* (one *k'ing* = 15 acres) of taxable land, and the population is stated in the Decennial Customs Reports to be about 25,000,000. Roughly speaking, that would give one English acre to each of 6,000,000 adults, who thus only pay, at the outside, a shilling a year each in land-tax. But the Governor reports Taels 2,500,000 of arrears during the years 1885-92, besides Taels 2,000,000 unpaid in consequence of famines. There are about 73,000 *k'ing*, or over 1,000,000 acres, still lying waste in consequence of recent wars, pestilences and famines. A considerable sum accrues when rice is allowed to be exported from Wuhu, the only "foreign" port of An Hwei. Sometimes rice cannot be exported at all; at others duty is remitted on account of famines; but the most recent arrangement is one mace (four pence) the 150 catties (200 English pounds), and at this rate Taels 100,000 a year may be annually looked for. According to a recent memorial, this collection falls under the Nanking head-office.

The dues on salt consumed in An Hwei are paid at the place of production, *i.e.* at Yangchow in Kiang Su, but it is not clear how much of this (say annually Taels 500,000) is credited to An Hwei. Anyhow, she has to send Taels 20,000 out of this fund to the frontier defence exchequer. The Taels 70,000 a year of receipts officially admitted by the Fêng-yang Customs Comptroller (who is a Manchu, and an enormous squeezer) all goes to Peking officials, palace ginseng, etc. This officer has also to send, as already

mentioned, Taels 30,000 to the Peking Manchu fund. The total Foreign Customs revenue for 1895 at Wuhu was Taels 422,000: the native collection at the same place, Taels 140,000. An Hwei is one of the provinces where the cultivation of the poppy is now encouraged. Opium-shops have to pay a license of Taels 30 annually, and all opium has to pay duty and get a paper label to protect it. Informers receive 80 °/₀ of the prize-money obtained, and the duty varies from Taels 20 to Taels 50 the chest (133 lbs.), according to whether the opium is locally consumed, new, ripe, exported, or merely passing through from other provinces. Of late, I believe, it has been arranged to tax all native opium Taels 60 the 133 lbs. English, or about 1*s.* 6*d.* a pound.

Chêh Kiang Province. — Of Taels 2,000,000 urgently wanted for military pay during 1895, the Governor was ordered to send Taels 460,000 from his provincial treasury. This is apart from the "extra pay" fund of 1889, towards which Chêh Kiang had to pay Taels 200,000, besides Taels 20,000 a year originally "on behalf of Fuh Kien." He also says that from 1890 until 1894 he had sent Taels 50,000 a year for railway construction; but adds that, at that latter date, work was stopped, and the money was diverted to military requirements: the sum is made up from land-tax, *likin*, and salt-taxes. For the Peking Manchus Taels 100,000 go from the *likin* fund, which also contributes Taels 80,000 for north-east frontier defence. The total Manchu and Chinese military expenditure in the province itself, including complimentary guards, stationery, boatmen, etc., will be Taels 836,651 for the year 1896, of which sum Taels 5,000 are provided by the rice commutation fund, and Taels 85,000 are provided for by the "reduction of armies fund," whilst Taels 746,651 [*sic*] remain to be appropriated for by the Board. A few years earlier it seems the Foreign Customs

had to pay Taels 100,000 of this. In 1886 either the salt-chest or the land-tax had to pay Taels 180,000 towards various northern armies, and Taels 110,000 towards An Hwei payments. For 1895 the Peking Manchus were allowed, from salt-taxes and salt *likin*, Taels 220,000—[in 1893 an extra Taels 50,000 were demanded]—this fund also contributed Taels 60,000 to military needs and Taels 50,000 to the household expenses, which last in 1895 required Taels 20,000 extra. A "loan from the merchants" of Taels 108,200, afterwards increased to Taels 112,300, bearing interest, had been made [no dates given, but apparently in connection with the Japanese war], and a complicated account is given of how it is being paid off. It seems that, in addition to lands paying regular taxes, certain reclaimed alluvial lands near the coast pay rents, which for the city of Siao-shan alone amount to Taels 10,000 a year: if in arrear, the owners are liable to pay land-tax. The land-tax for 1893 paid Taels 400,000 to the Peking Manchu fund. In 1896 the Foreign Customs were down for Taels 221,000 for the same. Four-tenths of the Ningpo Foreign Customs receipts for one quarter amounted in 1893 to Taels 138,455, of which Taels 66,727 went to the Admiralty, and Taels 20,000 to "extra pay" at Peking: the total extra pay due from 1889 annually has been Taels 200,000. The Admiralty took over, a few years ago, the administration which used to be called "northern sea defence," and in 1893 Chêh Kiang had to contribute Taels 400,000 *likin* to this fund; but for some mysterious reason it has only to send eight-tenths, or Taels 320,000, and it comes from *likin*. In 1890 the receipts at the provincial treasury and head *likin* office "under this account" amounted to Taels 1,308,900, of which Taels 320,000 went to sea defence, and Taels 536,290 to arrears of provender allowances and arsenal work, leaving Taels 452,630 for the local Chinese

army and navy, the needs of which, however, amount to Taels 986,430. Old subsidies due from Chêh Kiang to Yün Nan amount to Taels 1,010,333, of which it was arranged that one-third should be paid: Taels 235,000 have so been paid from time to time, and in 1893 another Taels 10,000 were sent under that head from the provincial treasury. During the year 1890 nearly Taels 100,000 were spent upon the local steam navy. It appears that ever since missions to Europe began, one-and-a-half-tenths of the six-tenths Foreign Customs receipts have been set aside for envoys' expenses: under this head the second quarter of 1893 produced Taels 15,639. Amongst the special contributions which Chêh Kiang has been called upon to make during the past ten years are: (? 1887) Taels 190,000 towards the Yellow River repairs (from the increased *likin* on opium), and Taels 100,000 for the defence of Formosa: only a small part of this last was paid from the salt treasury. Incidentally, the Governor says the land-tax ought to bring Taels 2,100,000, but at present much land lies uncultivated, and the land-tax "barely suffices to make good the numerous deficits caused "by over-appropriations of other funds." In 1887 the salt revenue had to send Taels 5,000 for the purchase of ginseng.

Arms and gunboats cost the Chêh Kiang government Taels 98,110 during the year 1890: the salt and *likin* treasuries contributed three-fifths, and the provincial treasury two-fifths. In 1896 the salt treasury sent Taels 2,000 towards Canal repairs, and the general treasury ought to have sent Taels 10,000, but did not. Notwithstanding the Taiping rebellion, most of the good land in Chêh Kiang is now under cultivation, though there still remain about 1,000,000 English acres of poorer land once subject to land-tax, but which at present pays none for want of cultivators. The census of Chêh Kiang for many years past has been

slowly mounting from 11,000,000 to 12,000,000, which figure it must now have reached: in 1842 the population was nearly 31,000,000, so that "decimation" is too mild a word for what this province suffered during the rebellion. It seems that only the three northern prefectures of Chêh Kiang pay grain-tax in kind in addition to land-tax. During the past ten years this tax has been gradually increasing from 400,000 to 500,000 peculs: the southern prefectures pay commutation, but up to the present it has not been found possible to ascertain what the rate is. The Ningpo Native Customs perhaps produce Taels 80,000, of which certainly Taels 40,000 go to the Peking Manchu fund. According to the latest accounts the collector was Taels 17,346 short in his "extras," and, "according to precedent," was ordered to pay up 309-thousandths of this sum himself.

Remarkably little transpires about Chih Li finance; partly, no doubt, because for many years LI HUNG-CHANG has made his millions out of that province; partly because a great part of it is farmed out by Manchu overlords; partly because Mongol and Manchu administration comes in in the northern parts; and partly because the independent metropolis of Peking has its special rights. The Viceroy LI HUNG-CHANG reported in 1893 that the land-tax amounted to Taels 2,332,258, of which sum Taels 1,803,730 had to be remitted to Peking, and Taels 528,527 were retained for provincial uses: to these totals had to be added Taels 231,363 and Taels 57,149 for "waste," making a total of something over Taels 2,600,000, which is well over the sum leviable in former prosperous reigns; in fact, in the year 1862 the land-tax for all provinces seems to have been fixed, for all years not the most abundant, at eight-tenths of the full original sum. In 1894 LI HUNG-CHANG added another Taels 100,000 to the estimated receipts. As to the lands in Chih Li Province held free of taxation by

Manchu bannermen, recent legislation tends to assimilate them to Chinese-owned land, paying land-tax. Transfers of land between bannermen used to be reported at the Wing Customs, whilst land purchased by bannermen from Chinese had to be reported at the local magistracy and pay land-tax. Now, however, land sold by one bannerman to the other outside of Peking is chargeable with land-tax, and the rate of both rents and land-tax is about 35 tael cents the English acre (*i.e.* one shilling at present gold rates, or two shillings at the rates of twenty years ago). The *corvées* due upon land complicate the question of ownership in Chih Li; and, besides this, there is the reclaiming of the imperial hunting grounds, so that we can do no more here than give general results. The Viceroy WANG has just officially reported that the sanctioned expenditure upon the vice-regal armies is Taels 807,000 a year. The salt administration of Chih Li is down for Taels 9,000 for the Amur armies. The rents from banner lands had to contribute Taels 40,000 to the same intention. This year (1896) the Imperial Carriage Office has complained that the moneys due to it from Chih Li rents were not forthcoming, and the Viceroy has been peremptorily ordered to find Taels 20,000, "no matter whence," in the first instance.

The salt-taxes of Chih Li contribute Taels 250,000 to the Peking Manchus: sometimes this is raised to Taels 300,000. Another branch of the salt administration contributes Taels 196,010 to the different public offices at Peking, including, for 1892, Taels 30,607 for the Household. The inland customs add Taels 40,000, and in one year the reed and fuel taxes are down for Taels 30,000. The whole of the Taels 300,000 due to Peking during one of the recent years was spent in advance by the Viceroy LI HUNG-CHANG upon copper cash for Peking (labour, copper, lead, etc., Taels 270,000)

and railways (Taels 30,000). Chih Li is in rather a curious position relative to the inland grain-sending provinces of Kiang Si and Hu Kwang: 2,500 cargo-boats are required to take delivery of the grain, and the wood for the boats (if not the boats themselves) has to be paid for by those provinces. Since 1881 Chih Li has been making boats on their behalf, but every five years or so they have to supply new boats, and even Shan Tung is supposed to send money to defray the expense of repairing them. A year or two ago 97 cargo-boats were destroyed by a tidal wave, and Chih Li has just reconstructed them, at a cost of Taels 39,800. Hu Nan, Hu Peh and Kiang Si have to repay this sum between them.

The land affairs of Chih Li are further complicated by the Hunting Ground, reclaimed military lands, Mausolea Glebes, West River Repair Glebes, Ducal Estates and other privileged administrations. The squatters of the Pao-ting Lakes have also to be separately dealt with. The Mongol princes of Fêng-ning charge rents or fines, and pay land-tax on lands cultivated by Chinese squatters. During the 1894-5 famine Taels 2,500,000 were raised from the sale of office, half in the Two Kwang Provinces, the rest in Hu Kwang, Min Chêh, Shen Si, Formosa and the Yellow River Administration area. For some unexplained reason the Shan-hai Kwan Customs administration of Manchuria falls under the Viceroy of Chih Li, but the receipts, about Taels 190,000, seem to go to Manchuria. Foochow sends Taels 60,000 a year towards the support of 950 trained cavalry and foot at Jêho, the Hunting Ground, etc. The Hwai armies appear to be supported chiefly by customs and *likin* remittances from Shanghai, Hankow and Chinkiang. From 1866 to 1888 ten provinces contributed to the support of the *lien-hsiang* or trained troops. The Chefoo Customs sends from Taels 20,000 to Taels 40,000 a year to the Tientsin Arsenal. Altogether, it is a difficult

matter to make head or tail of the Chih Li budget, but no doubt things will become clearer as time goes on.

Fuh Kien Province.—The total native collection of *likin* and Customs combined for one half year in 1892 was Taels 651,301, or Taels 274,770 less than the appropriations and expenditure during the same period, which amounted to Tls. 926,071. The taxes on salt, which have from time to time been raised and reduced, bring about Taels 400,000 in fact, though in the Red Book they are only stated at Taels 85,000 and they are actually fixed at only something over Taels 130,000. According to a very recent memorial from the Foochow Viceroy, the total taxes and *likin* levied on tea, before it pays export duty at the Foreign Customs, amount to as nearly as possible two taels for 133 lbs. or, say, six shillings the hundredweight. The whole sugar taxes only amount to a few thousand taels, as most of the sugar comes down under transit-pass. The taxation on native opium is officially reported at about Taels 10,000. I travelled throughout north Fuh Kien in 1884, and found that the authorities had complete control of the tea, salt and opium commerce, which, in so mountainous a country, must of necessity pass along the main roads. The land-tax of Fuh Kien used to be a little over a million taels in the old days, but I have not seen any statement of what it fetches now—probably about Taels 800,000. The inland tea-tax (Taels 2 per catties 100) finds Taels 250,000 for the Household and Peking Manchus. In 1896 the Amur authorities say that Taels 30,000 a year were due from the Fuh Kien salt-taxes. Over Taels 400,000 had to be sent annually up to 1892 for the support of various northern armies. At one time the proceeds of the sale of office were supposed to contribute about Taels 60,000 a year to the northern navies, later the Admiralty and the northern railways. Since the Japanese war, however, the Emperor

has impounded the discredited Admiralty appropriations for "imperial building purposes," and no doubt the Foochow share goes with the rest. The six-tenth fund of the Foreign Customs pays Taels 200,000 to the Peking Manchus (in one year Taels 20,000 of this diverted to Kan Suh), and the foreign opium-taxes pay Taels 240,000 to the Admiralty. The four-tenth Foreign Customs' fund pays Taels 24,000 a year promptly to the extra pay appropriation. A few years ago the Native Customs were ordered to contribute Taels 10,000 a year towards building a new palace for the Empress, besides the usual Taels 100,000 for the Household. Three-tenths of the tonnage-dues collected at Amoy and Foochow upon foreign steamers have had, ever since 1864, to be sent to the Foreign Office at Peking. At Foochow and Amoy both Foreign and Native Customs are under the general superintendence of the Tartar General at the former place—a very exceptional arrangement.

Fuh Kien sends Taels 60,000 a year for the support of the Johor troops, but since the Japanese war this has fallen into arrear. In 1896 Fuh Kien sent a sum of Taels 10,000 to Yün Nan in aid of the official copper industry. In response to a recent special call for money, in consequence of the Japanese war, the Fuh Kien Government reported that official salaries had been reduced 30 per cent. all round, efforts were being made to disband a portion of the local army, and the retail price of salt had been increased. But it was argued that there was no effective method of putting a *likin* upon native opium. It was also stated that the taxes on tea and sugar could not be reduced. For many years past the calls made by Peking upon Fuh Kien have been much heavier than the province can meet, and now, with the heavy appropriations required for the dock, dredgers and arsenal, it is difficult to see what can be done, unless radical financial reforms be introduced. For 1896 Fuh Kien has been obliged to send a

few thousand taels to the Shun-t'ien (Peking) prefecture "in preparation for devastation" (*pei hwang*), which probably refers to floods and famines. In 1896 the salt *taotai* contributed Tls. 3,000 towards Grand Canal repairs, but said there would be no funds available in 1897.

Ho Nan Province.—Foreigners have hardly any concern with this province at all. For the year 1894 the land-tax was reported at Taels 2,282,261, nearly all of which had been actually paid up. In the three previous years it had been almost as much. As the army accounts are sent with the land-tax accounts, it follows that the land-tax pays for local forces. During the early half of this century the land-tax was enormous, considerably over three million taels, in addition to a rice-tax of some 12,000 tons. But for thirty-five years back this latter has been commuted, and it evidently pays the governor best to leave it so, for he always reports his granaries as having fallen into disrepair, and the Grand Canal (which is apparently good enough for other provinces) to be in a disgraceful condition. Part of this commuted sum is retained for the troops and the judge's "expenses"; the rest goes to Peking. In 1893 Taels 50,000 had to be sent to the Admiralty-Railways Administration from a mysterious fund called the "Reduced by Halves," and Taels 120,000 had to be deducted from the land-tax properly belonging to the Peking Manchus for the Kashgarian or Manchurian armies. The total general *likin* receipts for the latter half of 1892 were Taels 32,018; opium *likin* Taels 2,052; tea *likin* Taels 918. To the extra pay appropriation (*alias* impecunious Peking officials) Taels 8,000 a year are sent, half from *likin* and half query from what fund. Of the Taels 200,000 appropriated to the Peking Manchus, Taels 120,000 were diverted in 1891-1893 to the northern army under Generals Sung and K'ing. There is also a sum of Taels 270,000 for some army in Shan Tung: no

fund mentioned. In 1895 Shan Tung was ordered to pay all but Taels 72,000 of this; but for 1896 Ho Nan has to send Taels 270,000, plus Taels 610,000 for the Kan Suh armies. A few years ago an appealed murder case was taken to Peking, which shows how mercilessly the rascally mandarins in Ho Nan tyrannise over the people. It came out in this case that the commuted land-tax was, in theory, 25 copper *cash* (say a penny) a pint, but that by "calculating" two pints as eight, and then levying the full eight on each of four brothers who had sub-divided the land, a tax of two pints of rice was run up to over one tael (at that date six shillings): it also transpired that in the Loh-yang township Taels 1,000 of nominal commutation were really charged as Taels 10,000. Moreover, the *corvées* system is rampant, though the people are not allowed to perform them: money commutation at ten times the labour value is extorted.

Of miscellaneous facts concerning Ho Nan, we may state that the revenue has been officially declared to be derived "chiefly from land-tax and grain-tribute" (commuted since 1862). It also seems that a certain quantity of cloth, wax, tendons or sinews and silk have to be sent to the Imperial Household. The sixteen districts served by the Chih Li salt administration produce Taels 80,000 of salt revenue, but Shan Tung, Shan Si and the Hwai region also send supplies. Some years ago An Hwei was in debt Taels 59,000 and Chêh Kiang 182,500 on account of Yellow River repairs, and both made small payments on account in 1893. Ho Nan has for many years been in debt on account of her contributions to Manchurian armies (Fêng-t'ien): Taels 10,000 has just been screwed out of her land-tax for 1884! According to latest reports she is trying to find her account in a new series of taxes upon Shan Si coal, iron and wine, but so far only the coal-tax has paid collection expenses.

Hu Nan Province.—The land-tax used to be about Taels 900,000, and the grain-tax 6,000 tons. In 1886 the land-tax was officially reported at over Taels 1,200,000, nearly all in: in 1892, Taels 1,136,151, and debts due for the years 1888-91. In 1893, and again in 1894, Taels 160,000 had to be sent to the army in Kan Suh, apparently from the local duties on fuel and grain. Ever since 1879 Hu Nan has had to send Taels 4,000 a month in aid of the Kwei Chou armies, and up to 1892 she had sent Taels 392,453 on this account. In 1890 an annual contribution of Taels 50,000 for railways was appropriated, partly from *likin*, partly from the grain and general treasuries, and partly it seems from the grain and fuel fund. Besides Taels 300,000 for the Peking Manchus, Hu Nan contributes Taels 110,000 a year out of her commuted rice-tax funds to two other frontier or northern armies. Her contribution to the Household is fitful. A few years ago some censors brought home the fact that Taels 35,000 a year in bribes were given by the salt syndicate to the governor and treasurer; but the commissioners sent to examine into the matter easily discovered that "previous viceroys" had sanctioned the "fees," which, moreover, were applied to "public uses." For some years Hu Nan supported 3,000 braves by imposing a tax of a few pence per cwt. on salt coming from the Kwang Tung province, but this seems to have been abolished now.

There is a general rule now that shortages in land-tax are to be reported and tabulated every three years, for comparison with the previous three years. For 1880-87 the Hu Nan sums owing were excused or remitted; from 1888 to 1894 Taels 138,600 were owing. It appears that since 1886 there have been military economies effected on the abolition of three land and one naval "camps" and of 50 °/₀ of the coolie labour allotted to the armies; also on army oil and

candle expenditure. This sum saved goes to Peking, and seems to amount in all to Taels 120,000 a year. A certain portion of the commuted rice-tax, representing 30,000 cwt. of grain, has, since 1894, been sent in money to Peking: it amounts to Taels 72,300; and in 1896 this was all devoted to Chih Li famine relief, for which purpose it is in future to be reserved. As to the salt revenue, Chêh Kiang, Sz Ch'wan, and Canton all struggle to deprive the Hwai syndicate of its ancient prior rights. From these combined sources Hu Nan seems to extract a total salt revenue of Taels 300,000. The An-hwa district tea *likin*, at Taels 1.2.5. the cwt., produces Taels 60,000, and the same amount is again levied at Hankow. It has recently been proposed to largely increase this *likin*, but the authorities plead that such a course would ruin the trade.

Hu Peh Province.—The land-tax, which used to be slightly under Taels 1,200,000, is still usually reported at a trifle under that sum. In 1887 it came out that "great owners" were charged 4,200 *cash* and "small owners" 3,800 *cash* for each government tael (about four times the real value). For some years back the Peking Manchus have had Taels 450,000 a year appropriated to them from this fund. A paragraph in the native newspapers recently stated that the gross *likin* receipts were now well over Taels 2,000,000. There are over 100 taxing-stations in the province, but the accounts are so hopelessly involved that it is useless to try and arrive at any detailed conclusions. About 12 years ago a censor officially accused the Viceroy Li Han-chang (brother of Hung-chang) of receiving Taels 750 a day in order to wink at certain peculations connected with the wood-tax at Hankow, which, reported at Taels 30,000, actually brought in Taels 1,000,000 a year. Li Han-chang admitted a "special balance" of Taels 18,000,

and was ordered to hand it over to the public. The rice-tax used to be about 6,000 tons, and the commutation seems to be fixed at the low rate of Taels 40,000. The salt-taxes contribute Taels 60,000 a year to the "strengthening fund," which seems to mean certain Peking brigades. This year (1896) Taels 330,000 were summarily called for in support of the Kan Suh army dealing with the Mahometan rebellion, and, so far, have been forthcoming from the general and salt *likin*. Taels 20,000 a year go from some unspecified fund to the impecunious Peking officials, but half that sum has in some years been diverted to Yün Nan for Peking copper-purchasing purposes. Fifteen-hundredths of the six-tenth fund of Foreign Customs receipts at Hankow and Ichang are appropriated to the support of diplomatic missions abroad. The north-eastern defence takes Taels 80,000 a year from the *likin* fund; the Peking Manchus, Taels 150,000 from the Hankow Foreign Customs: in 1883 the six-tenth fund contributed Taels 100,000 to the north-eastern defence. In that year also the four-tenth fund seems to have set aside Taels 16,000 "originally intended to assist Foochow in paying her sums due to Peking" for the impecunious official fund. The wood and bamboo tax at the important town of Fan Ch'êng, on the Han River, is fixed at about Taels 150,000 a year. The *likin* levied on coast salt for Hu Peh amounts to over Taels 200,000, and on that passing through for Hu Nan over Taels 100,000. The Foreign Customs receipts at Hankow did regularly, until quite recently, send Taels 50,000 a year to Tientsin for the support of LI HUNG-CHANG'S armies. Taels 60,000 have to be sent annually from the Foreign Customs opium receipts of Hankow and Ichang to the Admiralty, plus one per cent. for "rice money," chargeable in the accounts. The Foreign Customs receipts also contribute Taels 150,000 to the Manchu and Chinese armies of the Hu Peh Province, and Taels 120,000 to the defence funds of Peking.

As to general remarks, it appears that Taels 30,432 go with the land-tax as "extra charges" to Peking: there are also mysterious levies for "asses and shallow boats"—probably for carrying the grain to the official granaries. Sz Ch'wan and the Hwai syndicate supply salt, and a revenue of two million taels is extracted therefrom, besides Taels 15,000 from a local salt-producing place north-west of Hankow. The grain-tax used to be 6,000 tons, but recent gazettes make it nearer 8,000, besides "extras": the commutation rate seems to be 6,500 *cash* the cwt., and the total receipts on the grain account about Taels 420,000. Taxes on reeds, houses, cedars, tea-trees, rhubarb, etc. seem to produce Taels 22,000. Then there are boat-dues at the provincial metropolis, which bring in Taels 45,000. The tea-taxes collected in 1896 at Yang-lou-tung were very good, but it does not appear how much. Hu Peh spends large sums on "arms": the 14th purchase, in 1881, cost her nearly three million taels. Recently a special house-tax levied (only for once) at three great centres produced Taels 130,000. Native opium produced Taels 472,000 in 1895. Of course, in this, as in other provinces, there are pawn-shops, distilleries, fisheries, etc., etc. which contribute to the revenue, but in this paper we are only stating what we can actually find out, by way of making a beginning and a preliminary foundation upon which abler men can work.

Kan Suh is not a paying province: on the contrary, it absorbs huge sums of money. The troops "on this side of the Wall" after various changes and deductions, require about Taels 1,000,000, but it seems the other provinces have still to send Taels 1,400,000, and that the balance is "immovably kept in the treasury." The *likin* "inside the Wall" for 1885 amounted to about Taels 350,000, most of which goes into the provincial treasury. Ever since 1890 the *likin* on native opium has been kept in a separate account

from the ordinary *likin*, and held subject to appropriation. At the rate of Taels 16.6 the 133 pounds it barely amounted to Taels 20,000 in 1892. In that year the "new pay," or pay for the armies of Turkestan, was fixed at Taels 2,608,000, it having in 1889 been Taels 4,800,000 a year, and all the provinces had been punctual in forwarding their shares. In 1895 the Governor of Ho Nan was down for a balance of Taels 300,000, and unsuccessfully tried to wriggle out of it. His share for 1896 is Taels 610,000. Shan Tung had sent Taels 400,000, and Sz Ch'wan Taels 128,000. For some time there have been taxing-stations at Hami and Kuchêng, bringing in jointly about Taels 20,000 a year: others have recently been established at Turfan and Sui-lai. It is proposed now to establish a proper tariff, as seven years have elapsed since the treaty was made providing for temporary free trade for Russians in Kashgaria and Dzungaria. The Andijans and Chinese Cossacks, however, take advantage of Russian protection to make things more difficult farther west. The Russian trade with Kashgar was estimated a few years ago to be worth annually some Taels 1,200,000 a year; that with Aksu Taels 200,000. The recent Mussulman rebellion had already during 1895 called for an extra appropriation of Taels 1,200,000, and the viceroy in 1896 estimated the monthly expenditure at over Taels 300,000, to meet which he had again requested a special additional appropriation of Taels 800,000. For 1893 the land-tax of Kan Suh was officially reported at Taels 285,550, of which Taels 80,000 had been exempted. This, however, only represented the "first crop." But, as the total land-tax was, until recent changes, only fixed at Taels 280,652, it is probable that in so bleak a country the "second crop" produces very little. About Taels 130,000 is sent to Peking, Taels 70,000 kept for posts and local uses, and Taels 70,000 "booked for future

annual appropriations." Some years back the rebuilding of public offices in various towns cost Taels 70,000. The "New Territory" of Kashgaria and Dzungaria seems to be pretty rich, for in 1889 the authorities reported a collection of nearly Taels 60,000 in land-tax; 15,000 tons of grain (with a stock of 30,000 tons), and 10,000 tons of grass.

Some idea may be obtained of the condition of things in Turkestan from the following documents. In 1884 an estimate of expenditure was made out as follows: 1.—Inside and outside the Wall, Taels 7,930,000; 2.—Si-ning, Taels 10,000; 3.—Ning-hia, Taels 100,000; 4.—Liang-chou and Chwang-lang, Taels 84,000; 5.—The three armies under Generals KIN, JUNG, and K'ING, Taels 2,740,000; 6.—Barkul, Taels 400,000; 7.—Tarbagatai, Taels 330,000; 8.—Urumtsi, Taels 96,000. This estimate, with 8 °/₀ added in intercalary years, involved an expenditure of about twelve million taels; and this total was exclusive of the Ho Nan troops then under General CHANG YAO, which were paid by Ho Nan. Another statement made out that ten million taels a year for thirty years had been spent in pacifying the western parts, and that, in 1882, eight million and a-half of taels had actually been received. The total population for Dzungaria and Kashgaria in 1887-8 was only estimated at one million and a quarter, but two million English acres were either taxed or in a condition to be taxed. Of course the above is now all obsolete. The estimates for 1892 and 1894 do not differ very much. They were as follow: 1.—Aksu and Barkul, Taels 1,560,000, to which add for arms, Taels 100,000; 2.—Kuchêng, Taels 205,000 to Taels 215,000, two-thirds being for civil uses; 3.—Ili, Taels 300,000; 4.—Tarbagatai, Taels 153,000 to Taels 191,000; 5.—Debts, Taels 200,000. Total, about Taels 2,500,000. At the beginning of 1887 there were 64 "camps," and three parks of artillery,

numbering 19,883 fighting-men, 8,219 coolies, and 100 petty officers: these were distributed over the New Territory and Urumtsi. A year or two later, there were 4,000 men at Ili; 2,000 at Tarbagatai (both lots under the Governor at Kashgar); 1,000 Manchu troops at Urumtsi, Kuchêng and Barkul, these last costing Tls. 66,000 *plus* 16,000 cwt. of grain and 2,048 of provender. At Kobdo there are military colonies. The Customs established for the Russian trade at Kia-yü Pass is a complete failure, and costs, in Hankow Customs subsidies, Tls. 9,000 a year, against receipts next to *nil*. As late as 1895, Taels 4,800,000 were appropriated to the Kan Suh troops, and this sum was actually sent in full by the provinces. Most of the rich provinces contribute to the Kan Suh drain, Sz Ch'wan nearly Tls. 1,000,000 a year, and Ho Nan over Tls. 500,000. There is a tea monopoly in Kan Suh (based on the Hwai salt rules) which produces Tls. 63,000 a year. There is a good deal of native opium grown, but 22 districts were exempted from the growing-tax last year on account of the Mussulman rebellion. The financial accounts for this last rebellion are not yet in.

Kiang Si Province.—The land-tax used to figure officially as Taels 1,878,682, with a grain-tax in kind of 50,000 tons. The governor recently reported that in recent years the land-tax is never more than Taels 1,300,000, whilst in 1891 he estimated the commuted grain-tax at Taels 640,000. Only this year (1896) the *likin* was calculated at Taels 1,000,000: this sum corresponds fairly with the actual collection for the latter half of 1892, which amounted to about Taels 460,000, including local opium, and a petty export grain-tax at the mouth of the Poyang lake. The local opium fetches under Taels 9,000 a year, and is strictly reserved to the Admiralty. The Native Customs at Kewkiang used to bring in half-a-million a year, but now it reports about Taels 400,000. The

inland Native Customs brings in under Taels 50,000. Previous to steamers coming up it used to produce Taels 90,000. A large revenue must also be derived from the 60,000 tons of sea-salt which Kiang Si takes from the Hwai Salt Administration. The nominal taxation on salt is very low, only Taels 5,000 a year, probably in order to prevent Canton smuggled salt from competing with the Hwai; but it is quite certain that the authorities do not content themselves with so paltry a sum as that; still, it is noteworthy that Kiang Si pays no appropriations out of her salt revenue. Her annual liabilities are Taels 350,000 (with Taels 40,000 occasionally added) from the land-tax, Taels 100,000 from *likin* and Taels 30,000 from inland customs to the Peking Manchus; about Taels 200,000 to the Admiralty, and Taels 360,000 to Kan Suh. The last-named comes from land, grain and *likin* taxes. The Admiralty appropriation is nominally Taels 300,000, of which in any case only eight-tenths need be sent, but only twice since 1886 have even the full Taels 240,000 been despatched. Why $\frac{8}{10}$ of 300, and not 240 outright, should be specified is one of the numerous obscurities in Chinese finance. For some years Kiang Si has been supposed to send Taels 50,000 a year to Foochow, but so far she has only managed Taels 15,000 in four years: governors seem to know instinctively when business is really intended and when other provinces are simply extorting. The north-east frontier takes Taels 50,000 of land-tax, and Taels 80,000 *likin:* this has been paid regularly ever since 1880. Besides this there is an annual sum of Taels 240,000 (from land-tax, commuted grain-tax and *likin*) for frontier defence, explained to be supplementary to the Peking Manchu vote, and once what used to be sent to Kan Suh. In 1883 Uliasutai and Kobdo (in Tartary) were authorised to draw on Kiang Si for Taels 20,000, and it took just ten years

to extract it. In the same way the "government hunters" of Manchuria have been ten years in extracting a like sum. Over Taels 60,000 a year of "light remittances" (*i.e.* money) are sent annually to Peking in addition to the commuted grain-tax. Ever since 1866 ten provinces have had to contribute to the support of LI HUNG-CHANG'S troops: Kiang Si's share is Taels 60,000, but she is Taels 100,000 in arrear. Then there are Taels 40,000 a year to the "central support" fund, which seems to mean Peking troops: this also is in arrear. In 1887 the Grain Intendant was summarily called on to assist Shan Tung with Taels 40,000 for river repairs, and he was reminded that, as money had been substituted for grain since about 1853, it followed that much of his work must be obsolete. For some years past Kiang Si has declared herself bankrupt on account of the land-tax failing. Her own troops cost Taels 225,000 a year, and for 1892 a sum of Taels 100,000 had to be contributed by the Foreign Customs; even then, a shortage of Taels 5,000 had to be made up from the land-transfer tax fund. Consequent upon the extra demands upon her caused by the Japanese war, she had to contract a loan of Taels 318,000 at interest a year or two ago, Taels 239,000 of which went to Peking for purchases of arms, and Taels 80,000 of which were locally spent. The Taels 239,000 are to be gradually repaid from the *likin* and foreign opium funds which would otherwise go to Peking: meanwhile it is as much as Kiang Si can do to pay the interest. To meet all these difficulties, the tea-tax has been increased by 20 per cent.; pawn-shops have subscribed Taels 25,000, and native opium-shops Taels 11,000: an extra tax on sugar has produced about Taels 4,000, and, from 1st January 1896, 20 per cent. has been added to the *octroi* on native wine and tobacco. To make matters worse, there has been a lack of rain, and in order to purchase grain for

relief, and seed, all house-rents in the province are to be taxed 20 per cent. from May 1896, the landlord and occupier dividing, but the occupier having to pay in the first instance. Occasionally Kiang Si is called upon for something extra; for instance, in 1886, at the instance of the Emperor's father, she sent up a consignment of 50,000 strings of cash, it is not stated from what fund: the cash were wanted to "improve the circulation."

Kiang Su Province. — The land-tax used to be Taels 3,116,826 and the grain-tax (together with An Hwei) 90,000 tons. The land-tax is collected in two divisions, those of Nanking (Taels 375,000) and Soochow (Taels 750,000) making together something over Taels 1,100,000, which sum has not varied much for many years. Probably this great falling-off from the old figure is due to the T'aip'ing rebellion. For 1893 the grain-tax was reported at about 50,000 tons, seven-eighths of which went by sea (junk and steamer) and one-eighth by canal; but one-half of this latter was diverted to Chih Li for famine relief. The native opium taxing-station at Sü-chou, in the north, fetches from Taels 200,000 to Taels 250,000 a year, and a great portion of its collection goes to the Admiralty. The *likin* collectorates are, like the land-tax, divided between the two treasurers of Nanking and Soochow, but their annual reports do not embody detailed statements of the amounts collected, nine-tenths of which go to the Admiralty. Nanking seems to raise about half-a-million: in fact, for the first half of 1896 it was Taels 304,000, including the grain-tax collected at Wuhu, which is in An Hwei Province. The Salt Industry of the Hwai flats, reorganized a few years ago by TSÊNG KWOH-FAN, and managed by the viceroy at Nanking, produces a government revenue of about Taels 3,000,000 a year, most of which sum goes to maintain the viceroy's troops at Nanking and the governor's troops at Ganking. The "Southern Hwai"

section ten years ago produced about Taels 1,215,000 a year: in the absence of any specific record touching the Northern Hwai we must assume that it accounts for the balance.

Kiang Su's appropriations are not very heavy, considering the wealth of the province. The Peking Manchus take Taels 150,000 of the land-tax, Taels 250,000 of the salt revenue, from Taels 150,000 to 350,000 of the Foreign Customs revenue, Taels 100,000 *likin*, and Taels 30,000 Native Customs. The Foreign Customs also pays Taels 50,000 to the Household; but for many years half this sum has gone to the Board in repayment of advances. In addition to these 50,000 there are also Taels 30,000 of "ordinary year expenses of the Household," which also come from the Shanghai Foreign Customs. Since 1866 the General and Customs treasuries between them have had to find Taels 60,000 a year towards the "strengthening" fund. In 1893 and 1894 each Taels 40,000 and Taels 50,000 of the Peking Manchus' money were diverted to pay off part of a debt of Taels 490,647 incurred at Shanghai in order to purchase 2,000 tons of copper for the Peking mints. The receipts from opium duty and *likin* at Shanghai and Chinkiang are pretty heavy. At Shanghai, for the first quarter of 1894, they amounted to Taels 326,352, on *likin* alone, but the appropriations and repayments due exceeded those receipts by 72,605. The Chinkiang receipts for duty and *likin* for the first quarter of 1893 were Taels 83,787, all which was held to meet Board appropriations. There is a *likin* on grain at Nanking, but the estimated receipts have not yet been published. In 1896 each of the treasurers at Nanking and Soochow had to send Taels 10,000 towards Grand Canal repairs, to which Taels 90,000 a year are appropriated under the Transport Viceroy. The Two Hwai salt treasury also sent Taels 10,000. The Hwai-an and Yangchow Native Customs are supposed to

produce about Taels 100,000 between them, but of course peculation reigns supreme, and all figures are fictitious. There is also a Native Custom-house at Shanghai: at one time it was down for Taels 120,000 a year on tea alone, but for 1893-4 the total collection, including China Merchants' S.S. Company trade, junk exemptions, etc. only amounted to Taels 60,000. Nanking raises Taels 6,000 on its opium-shops, and no doubt Soochow and other large towns do the same. There is also a rush-tax administration under the Yangchow *taotai*. The "River Viceroy" has his own taxing-stations at Yüan-kung P'u and other places. The treasury of the Shanghai *taotai* is now as important as those at the two capitals, for the recently negociated loans, foreign missions abroad, etc., etc. all come under its ken. To thoroughly understand the working of the Hwai salt system would require almost a lifetime: there are wheels within wheels, and dodges within dodges. Most of the "big men" in China have a finger in the pie.

The wretched province of Kwang Si is very little heard of. The land-tax used to be Taels 416,399, and probably is not far from that now, nominally, but extensive remissions were made in 1895 on the ground that the province had not yet recovered from the effects of rebellion, and that there had been scarcity besides. A great portion of the land-tax in this province is collected by native or aboriginal chiefs. Heavy squeezes used to be, and probably still are, made out of the cassia trade. The Customs at Wu Chou (which has recently distinguished itself by annoying a British transit-pass pioneer) was charged a few years ago with the crime of making private squeezes to the tune of Taels 350,000 a year. This led to enquiry, and between Taels 20,000 and 30,000 a year were found to go in presents to the high provincial authorities, called "yamên expenses." It was estimated

that Taels 170,000 or Taels 200,000 in irregular charges were annually paid, under one head or the other, to this office by the trade. In 1884 the Viceroy CHANG CHIH-TUNG instituted reforms, which led to a saving of Taels 225,000, leaving Taels 200,000 to be collected under the new system. Kwang Si does not send any money to Peking. In 1887 Hu Peh Province was ordered to send Taels 120,000 a year for the support of Kwang Si armies, but after a short time Taels 70,000 a year, saved from sums due to LI HUNG-CHANG'S Tientsin armies from Hu Peh, were diverted to Kwang Si, and have been sent ever since pretty regularly, besides Taels 20,000 as a special fund for the purchase of guns. All this is in connection with the French occupation of Tonquin. Kwang Si seems to raise about Taels 75,000 from the salt coming to her from Kwang Tung; but her attempt to supply Kwei Chou Province with this salt, to the injury of the Sz Ch'wan salt interest, led to epistolary recriminations some ten years ago, and the Sz Ch'wan Viceroy got the best of the encounter. Hu Nan ought to send Taels 10,000 a month to Kwang Si, but from 1884 to 1896 she only sent Taels 460,000 in all: during the summer of 1896 she remitted Taels 20,000: this is, of course, for the support of the Kwang Si armies.

Kwang Tung Province. — This is the best squeezing ground in China. The tablet at the Board, which contains a list of all the posts in the Empire, is said to be worn into a hole under the title of "Hoppo of Canton," every visitor having placed his finger there for centuries back with the remark, "That's the post I should like." One of the other chief sources of revenue is now the *wei-sing* lottery, or gambling on the names of successful wranglers or doctors at Peking and the provincial capitals. Twenty years ago an attempt was really made to put a stop to this as immoral; and when I was at Canton in 1875 the Manchu Viceroy, YINGHAN,

was dismissed for trying to re-open it. However, it was found that this was simply putting money into the hands of the Portuguese at Macao, who, in their greed of gain, declined to imitate the prohibitory policy of the Hongkong and native governments. Consequently, for the past fifteen years the monopoly has been farmed out. The six-year period having expired in the spring of 1896, a syndicate has paid in advance to the Viceroy Taels 1,800,000 for the right to sell tickets throughout the province. As ten per cent. less is given in prizes than is taken in ticket money, it follows that, allowing 300 working days in the year, any profit remaining to the syndicate must be subject to the first charge of Taels 1,000 a day: that is, at least £2,000 must be taken in tickets daily before there can be any question of profit. But this concession seems to be mixed up with what is called the *ki-p'iao*, which sounds like "brothels' licences," and to pay in reality $4,400,000 a year. The whole subject is very obscure, of course purposely kept so. The next corrupt source of revenue is the Native Customs under the Hoppo, touching whose enormous gains we have already had our say. The Salt Treasury is only down for Taels 47,510 in the official Red Book; but, as it contributes annually Taels 250,000 to Peking, and as Taels 230,000 are leviable on salt exported from Canton, it is evident that there is money somewhere. Eight districts in Hu Nan are supplied with Kwang Tung salt, which is taxed in the province of production before it leaves it. Kwang Tung has an interest in getting her salt consumed in both Hu Nan and Fuh Kien, and by an arrangement with the Fuh Kien government the Swatow branch of the Canton Salt Administration collects taxes on salt for Fuh Kien, and pays for Fuh Kien's preventive service. The land-tax of Kwang Tung province used to be fixed at Taels 1,264,304. In 1892 it was officially estimated at

Taels 1,118,936, with Taels 181,881 for extra weights, etc. A considerable sum is also received for rents on reclaimed sand-flats, concerning which there is much jobbery and favouritism. The *likin* receipts are not published, but an enquiry made through Sir ROBERT HART ten years ago elicited the fact that the Viceroy and the Hoppo between them collected Taels 750,000 at the stations outside Hongkong and Macao alone; but at least three-quarters of this sum was on opium, which is now only taxed by the Foreign Customs.

Canton's appropriations are heavy, the Peking Manchus taking a full million of taels alone, as already explained under that item [Part I]. Besides his share under that head, which comes from the Foreign Customs, the Hoppo has to send Taels 300,000 for the Household and Buttery, and Taels 40,000 for impecunious officials, presumably from his own "general" fund; Taels 120,000 also go from the six-tenths Foreign Customs fund to north-east frontier defence. In 1893 he was called upon to contribute Taels 120,000 from the four-tenths and Taels 200,000 from the six-tenths to a new Peking military preparation fund, but it is not quite clear yet how far this contribution is special, and how far permanent. The Salt Commissioner, besides his Taels 50,000 to the Household and Taels 200,000 to Peking Manchus, had to send from 1889 onwards one-half of an annual sum of Taels 200,000 for western armies; the other half came from the general treasury. *Likin* contributes Taels 80,000 annually to north-east frontier defence. *Likin* and salt between them send Taels 50,000 annually for railways and Taels 10,000 for Yellow River repairs. A big local revenue is raised in Canton from the *likin* and *octroi* on vegetable oils (4 *mace* the tub) and salt fish: there are also many other licences, fees, and city squeezes.

The Salt Treasury is supposed to send Taels 10,000 a

year to Grand Canal repairs, but failed to do so in 1896. The T'aip'ing Customs in the north part of the province produce Taels 150,000; the Swatow local customs Taels 90,000; the Shao-k'ing Customs (the former capital) Taels 105,000; the Prefect's Octroi, Taels 52,000. Then there are Native Customs at Pakhoi and Hoihow, the proceeds of which go to local uses. The great trading village of Siao-lan raises Taels 30,000 in *likin*. A farmer offered $ 6,000 a year for the right to collect 7 *mace* a head on cattle exported, but the authorities cannot legally recognise the right to export beasts of the plough. Then there are boat-charges on passage-boats, duties on jade, pawn-shops, distilleries, etc. etc. And large sums must come from such enormous marts as Fatshan, Ch'ên-ts'un, and other well-known centres. In fact, if Kwang Tung Province were properly handled, instead of being left to the mercies of a pack of greedy Manchu harpies and local blackguards, she alone would easily raise a revenue of Taels 10,000,000 a year without in the slightest degree oppressing the people.

Kwei Chou is another beggar province. In past prosperous times its land-tax was never much over Taels 100,000, and it is not likely that this sum is much exceeded now. The armies were re-organized in 1889, since which time about Taels 450,000 a year have been required on that account alone. Kwei Chou depends almost entirely upon Sz Ch'wan for salt, and Sz Ch'wan collects on Kwei Chou's behalf Taels 180,000 a year upon the salt trade. The salt syndicate of Sz Ch'wan, which assists Yün Nan with Taels 25,000, also undertakes to assist Kwei Chou with another annual Taels 40,000 "in place of subscriptions." Of the Peking appropriations due from Sz Ch'wan, Taels 126,000 are diverted as an aid to Kwei Chou. Thus, Sz Ch'wan in all contributes to Kwei Chou Taels 346,000 a year. The governor reports monthly the driblets he

receives from other provinces, all of which have to be screwed out very hard. Hu Nan, down for Taels 4,000 a month, sent nearly Taels 400,000 between 1879 and 1892. During the year 1893 the following figured for a few thousand taels apiece: Shan Tung Province, Chêh Kiang Province, Soochow City, Shanghai Foreign Customs, Kewkiang Customs, Canton City, Hu Peh Province. Chêh Kiang is down for Taels 40,020 land-tax, but "with an immense effort" forwards Taels 10,000 from her salt funds. Of the Taels 158,000 arrears, Hu Peh sent Taels 112,000 between 1887 and 1892, and also "with desperate economy" managed to rake Taels 10,000 together in 1893. But, as will be readily seen, Sz Ch'wan is the great stand-by, and if she did not come up to scratch Kwei Chou would soon make things disagreeable by smuggling Kwang Si or over-taxing Sz Ch'wan salt. There are various other miscellaneous statements, of doubtful value, to make about Kwei Chou, which province has been partly repopulated of late years by the system of military colonization. The land-tax, *likin*, and duties together were stated in 1884 to bring in about Taels 300,000, and the total annual expenditure was estimated at Taels 900,000. A few years back Taels 40,000 were borrowed from the Kwei Chou treasury in order to develop local copper mines; little result has been achieved, and the Copper Director still owes Taels 25,000 of the advance. The lead mines seem more successful. Between the years 1870-80, nearly ten millions of taels were raised by the sale of office; but the *Peking Gazette* is not clear whether this was raised outside of Kwei Chou for titles in Kwei Chou, or whether it was in aid of Kwei Chou, and for titles good in divers provinces.

Shan Si Province.—The land-tax of this province used to be Taels 2,990,675, and State papers have recently appeared shewing that this sum is now more than maintained. In

1893 the total receipts were estimated at Taels 3,304,266. It seems that the land-tax is still the great stand-by of the province, for Taels 450,000 to Taels 500,000 have for many years been regularly sent from this fund to the Peking Manchus. There appear to be also due Taels 100,000 for the Palace Savings or Reserve Fund, Taels 60,000 for the strengthening fund, Taels 40,000 saved on local soldiers' pay and Taels 55,000 for the troops at Uliasutai and Kobdo; and there is a sum of Taels 100,000 for north-east frontier defence. Another sum of Taels 200,000 was a few years ago appropriated from miscellaneous and police fund receipts for the training of bannermen at Peking. Of the sums sent to Peking, Taels 20,000 were one year (1893) diverted to the Ku-peh K'ou Pass (on the way from Peking to Jêhore) for the support of the Chabar Mongol guard there.

The Lu salt interest of Shan Si is put down in the official books as being worth Taels 507,285 to the government, this being at the rate of (roughly) Taels 100 upon the 5,298 warrants which must be consumed every year. Shan Si supplies parts of Shen Si, Hu Peh and Ho Nan with salt. The famine of 1877 threw it back, but of late years the salt administration appears to have been able to hold its head fairly above water, having only about a thousand unconsumed warrants on its hands.

The following miscellaneous facts may be stated about Shan Si. The *corvées* and purveyances are still heavy, though a dozen years back the Governor CHANG CHIH-TUNG did much to lighten the burden: he also purified the administration in many ways, abolishing the annual "birthday gifts" of Taels 78,900 which used to be distributed amongst the high officials. The land question in Shan Si is complicated by the fact that the northern parts are Mongol pasture, now largely cultivated by Chinese squatters: the Sarachi

Tumets alone have let out 50,000 acres. I cannot find any traces of *likin* in Shan Si, but the Shahu Customs at the Great Wall bring in Taels 40,000 to the public chest. There is also a taxing-station at Kwei-hwa (MARCO POLO'S Tenduc). The salt administration is very mixed. The salt lakes of Kiai Hien and An Yih have been profitably worked for a thousand years. The P'ing-yang salt works were thrown open free to the public just 1,400 years ago. The Ho-tung or Lu salt syndicate above-mentioned has for many years been a sink of corruption: in 1884 CHANG CHIH-TUNG took it in hand and estimated the "mixed dues" at Taels 260,000. Quite recently a second unmasking has taken place, and over Taels 2,000,000 in unpaid taxes have accumulated: in 1895 the merchants subscribed Taels 100,000, to be repaid in four years. Shan Si salt creeps into Hu Peh, and also supplies portions of Shen Si and Ho Nan.

Shan Tung Province.—The land-tax used to be 3,376,155 Taels, besides 22,000 tons of grain. According to the official reports for 1892-3, it would appear that about Taels 2,900,000 were collected in those years. In the collection of this tax the tael has been taken as high as 5,600 to 5,900 cash; but the Governor LI PING-HÊNG has introduced reforms and reduced it to 2,600 to 2,700. The Tai Salt Revenue is nominally Taels 120,720, but the change in course of the Yellow River in 1865 both disorganized the service and injured the quality of the salt. In 1889 an extra tax of Taels 200 per thousand consignments was accepted on the understanding that each packet of 320 nominally Chinese pounds should count as 440. By this means it was hoped to add Taels 80,000 to the annual revenue. There is a "southern salt" syndicate under separate management which also serves part of Ho Nan: this was placed on a sound footing by the Governor TING

PAO-CHÊNG in 1867, but wholesale corruption has since crept in. The present Governor has abolished the "offering" of Taels 12,000 annually made to his predecessors; has dismissed all sinecure-office holders; put a stop to the intrigues of Peking eunuchs and statesmen; and so re-organized the business that Taels 40,000 may easily be made available for army and arsenal purposes.

There is no specific statement on record as to what the yield of general *likin* amounts to, but it is probably about a million taels. The *likin* on foreign opium amounted in 1893 to Taels 24,845; that on native opium collected in each township in 1892 to Taels 65,941. As the *likin* on native opium is only Taels 16 the 100 Chinese pounds, it follows that foreign opium only occupies an infinitesimal part of the ground covered. In the provincial capital of Tsi-nan Fu there are twelve foreign opium-stores, each paying a licence-fee of Taels 24 a year. The *likin* on native opium near Lai-chou Fu is collected by the Chefoo Foreign Customs Superintendent, and amounted in 1892 to Taels 4,183. The Native Custom-houses at Chefoo and Lintsing (on the Grand Canal) were supposed to produce Taels 70,000 a year, but as a rule only Taels 60,000 were reported, and the Superintendent (the same who is at the head of the Foreign Customs) was recently accused of pocketing Taels 100,000 a year for himself: the new Governor has so re-organized matters that Taels 50,000 more are now gained from Chefoo and Taels 30,000 from Lintsing.

Besides the Taels 400,000 from land-tax, Taels 210,000 from salt-taxes, and Taels 50,000 from the Foreign Customs receipts appropriated to the Peking Manchus, Shan Tung is saddled with a permanent annual charge of Taels 600,000 for repairs to the Yellow River, which sum had to be supplemented between the years 1889 and 1891 by a further

annual grant of Taels 50,000. About ten years ago a lump sum of Taels 315,000 had to be deducted from the Peking Manchu fund on this account, and the Governor, in searching about for miscellaneous funds, savings, etc., to compensate for this, suggested that the Kiang Si grain authorities might be mulcted in Taels 40,000, for, commutation of the grain-tax there having taken place in 1851-1862, a great many levies nominally made in connection with "forwarding grain to Peking" go into the local authorities' pockets. The foreign-drilled troops at Chefoo, recently reduced from 500 to 450, used to draw about Taels 25,000 a year from the Native and Foreign Customs receipts, but it seems that, since or in consequence of the Japanese war, only 150 of these are now kept up. In one year Shan Tung figures for Taels 22,000 Manchurian, Taels 14,000 Kirin, and Taels 5,000 Tsitsihar salaries, all forwarded in the first instance to Moukden, all coming out of general provincial receipts. She is also liable to contributions towards frontier defence and metropolitan guards, apparently about Taels 100,000 a year for the two. On the other hand, certain aids are due to her from Sz Ch'wan. The Admiralty some years ago called for contributions towards the building of fast cruisers from Europe, and the Governor, being Taels 30,429 short, asked permission to borrow Taels 10,731 from the *likin* receipts. About Taels 14,000 a year were, until recently at least, required for the up-keep of Shan Tung's solitary steam cruiser; this seems to have come out of foreign opium, and the Taels 4,170 collected in 1892 on steamers going to the non-treaty port of Lai-chou were devoted to the same ends. The Salt Treasury has to contribute Taels 2,000 a year to Canal repairs, but for 1895-6 it has failed to do so.

Shen Si Province.—The land-tax is down in the official Red Book for Taels 1,658,700. In practice it is complicated

with extra charges for post-horses, salt-dues, etc., and blended with similar assessments called "colonial settlement taxes;" but in 1893 the whole of these put together amounted to at least Taels 1,750,000, even after all allowances for dearth, floods and accident had been made. In 1896 the Taels 270,000 arrears of 57 districts for the year 1894 were remitted by the Emperor. The Governor has just reported that "the people pay their land-tax most cheerfully." Shen Si derives her salt in the south from Sz Ch'wan, in the central parts from Shan Si, and in the north from the Mongols. Shan Si collected Taels 15,384 salt *likin* on Shen Si's behalf in 1892, but there is nothing to shew what revenue is derived from the other two. Her total collection of *likin* was reported at Taels 259,858 in 1892, being 9 °/₀ less than in 1891; the native opium *likin* was Taels 29,504, being 40 °/₀ less than in 1891; drought and frost had done damage both to opium and to general cultivation: most of the *likin* yield appears to be devoted to the pay of local troops. In 1895 the collection was unexpectedly good. The north parts of Shen Si are too cold for the poppy, but 42 districts in the south paid between them Taels 6,087 for duties on poppy-fields in 1892: this seems to be a new charge, over and above the land-tax. It is a little confusing to find Taels 10,742 reported as the *likin* on opium for 1892 the same day that Taels 29,504 was reported in another paper, but apparently the smaller sum represents the charges made on the crop taken from the field, whilst the larger sum represents the exactions made by the stations along the roads. The smaller sum and the duties on fields, Taels 16,830 in all, were ordered up to Peking for "imperial parks." Shen Si does not seem to be called upon for many appropriations; in 1893 she had to find Taels 200,000, in aid of Kan Suh, from her land-tax, and probably this sum is a

regular annual one. In 1887 the Governor reported that her total revenue ought to be three, but actually was two millions, and that it was derived from land-tax, *likin*, and "duties" [query on what, and where levied?]. In 1896 the latter part of the statement was repeated, and *likin* was said to be largely in excess of "duties." The "confiscated camp lands" of 23 districts (a legacy of the Yakub Beg and Tungan rebellion of 1860-75) have since then been in part re-surveyed: in all, they amounted to 3,600,000 English acres, and only a small part of this vast area has been "raised" once more to a taxable state; however, the Governor recently expressed a hope that he might be able to extract "several myriads" more from this source. The armies of south Shen Si cost Taels 600,000 a year, and now Taels 100,000 are needed towards paying off foreign loans. Of course the recent Mussulman rebellion has run off with all Shen Si's available spare cash: she had a balance of Taels 170,000 reserved "for the new armies' annual wants," and this seems to have now disappeared.

Sz Ch'wan Province.—The land-tax is nominally the lowest of all, being only Taels 631,094 in the Red Book, or Taels 668,000 according to proclamation, but as a matter of fact, the "extras" make it one of the heaviest in the Empire. The writer of these lines has himself travelled over a great part of the province, and found that in some cases as much as ten times the nominal charges were actually exacted: at least four millions in land-tax must be wrung from the people under various heads. In 1892 the viceroy reported the land-tax at Taels 692,431, *plus* 429,550 of extra charges, making Taels 1,120,980 in all, but out of this he deducted Taels 133,558 to compensate Sz Ch'wan for transit-passes taken out at Hankow and Ichang. For 1895 the corresponding figures were Taels 1,121,580 and Taels 141,459. In

addition to the land-tax, about 900 tons of rice and beans were collected and reported for both years. When the writer was in Sz Ch'wan, he read a proclamation which distinctly put one single "extra" item of the land-tax at Taels 500,000; it went on to state that Taels 230,000 of this sum went to the Peking Manchus, and Taels 150,000 to the provincial Manchu and Chinese troops. The Viceroy TING PAO-CHÊNG reorganized the vast salt industry of Sz Ch'wan about sixteen years ago, and officially admits for that date a salt revenue of over Taels 1,000,000; the same viceroy reported his gross revenue at Taels 4,200,000 in 1881; so that we may safely assume that *likin*, salt and land-tax each produce about one-third of that total. In 1891 the exported salt revenue was reported at Taels 1,324,770, but this seems to include the Taels 180,000 collected on behalf of Kwei Chou.

Sz Ch'wan's appropriations are very heavy. For some years past the aid to the Kan Suh-Kashgarian troops has been fixed at Taels 980,000 a year, the expenses of remitting which are chargeable to the *likin* fund: these remittances come in part from the tea and salt dues, salt *likin*, extra land-tax, etc., and are partly scraped together from all sorts of unintelligible funds, such as "sale of office," "reductions," "further reductions," "Peking scale," "official note reductions," "military savings," "fines on pay," etc. etc. The Peking Manchus have regularly drawn Taels 150,000 from salt, and Taels 120,000 from the "extra" land-tax charge above alluded to. In 1893 Taels 250,000 and Taels 170,000 were demanded and sent under these heads by way of exception, and the Chungking Foreign Customs was put down for Taels 70,000. In 1894 the Chungking contribution was Taels 140,000; but in 1893 Taels 40,000 had been diverted to the relief of the distressed people in Yün Nan, and

Taels 120,000 to Kwei Chou for the purchase of lead for Peking. The north-east frontier takes Taels 150,000 from the salt *likin*, Taels 80,000 from extra land-tax, and Taels 30,000 from the Native Customs at K'wei Kwan in the Gorges. The metropolitian guards appear to take Taels 60,000 a year, and this has been going on for the past 26 years, Taels 1,800,000 having already been absorbed under that head: part of the money, if not all, comes from some "reductions fund." Sz Ch'wan also contributes pretty heavily to the needs of Yün Nan: the fixed annual sum of Taels 360,000 has, since 1886, been temporarily reduced to Taels 180,000 (apparently because there is no longer any immediate danger from the French). This sum appears to be raised from the proceeds of the sale of office, the *likin* and "official note reductions." But, in addition to this, the salt revenue in 1893 and again in 1896 provided Taels 200,000 for foreign-drilled Yün Nan troops, Taels 25,000 a year in place of what ought to be the proceeds of the sale of office in Yün Nan, and Taels 60,000 in aid of Yün Nan soldiers' pay, out of moneys which ought to have gone to the Peking Board. Salt also provides an annual sum of Taels 100,000 in aid of "other provinces'" pay for troops. Shan Tung is one of these, but it does not appear how much she is entitled to receive, or how she gets it. Her own armies have cost Sz Ch'wan Taels 720,000 a year ever since 1864. The last report distributes this money in the following way: Taels 42,000 obtained from salt *likin*; Taels 208,000 from surcharges on the land-tax; Taels 390,000 from sale of office (funds of 1886-7), and Taels 80,000 from general *likin*. The 72nd and 73rd monthly receipts on the New Coast Defence Sale of Office Account for August and September 1896 produced about Taels 2,700. During the past few years the *likin* and "land-tax surcharge" fund have had to send Taels 50,000 a year to

Tientsin for railways, the general *likin* paying the expenses of remittance. Within the past few years the Sz Ch'wan authorities have made various appeals to Peking for grace and mercy, pleading that certain "waste" and "extra scale" funds are required for local use: the treasuries of the province and the salt and tea administration each struggle to evade the last straw, but both camels are made to kneel and distribute as best they may the loads placed upon the province by merciless Peking. The maximum sum annually sanctioned for the Chêng-tu Arsenal is Taels 60,000 a year. It was intended to make reductions in the military force, but the recent Mussulman troubles have necessitated extra garrisons at Ta Tsien-lu (Tibet) and Sung-p'an T'ing (near the Kokonor-Miniak tribes).

Yün Nan Province.—Yün Nan is officially down for Taels 209,582 land-tax, and in good years she used to derive Taels 260,000 a year from salt, besides Taels 240,000 from the exportation of metals to Annam and Burmah. But of late years, what with the Panthay rebellion, the decay of mining industries, the French encroachments, etc., only sixty per cent. upon nominal salaries (Taels 110,000) have been paid, and, even to achieve that, Taels 20,000 a year have had to be contributed by a special salt *likin*. The armies are supported by richer provinces. Until 1889 Sz Ch'wan used to send Taels 23,000 a month, or say Taels 276,000 a year; but after that year Taels 5,000 were taken off, Taels 3,000 being charged upon Hu Peh salt and general *likin* and Taels 2,000 upon the Hankow Foreign Customs. In 1895 Hu Peh diverted Taels 100,000 of the "Extra Pay" fund to Yün Nan on behalf of Peking copper purchases. In 1893-4 the Shanghai Foreign Customs were directed to divert in all Taels 90,000 of their Peking Manchu remittance towards paying a Peking debt of Taels 490,647 for Yün Nan copper.

The Sz Ch'wan salt office undertakes to send Taels 25,000 a year to Yün Nan "in place of subscriptions"; Taels 60,000 are annually diverted to Yün Nan from moneys due to the Peking Board; and Taels 200,000 are sent, also apparently from the Sz Ch'wan salt office, to Yün Nan for the specially trained troops, it is presumed on the Burmo-Tonquin frontiers. Fuh Kien and Chêh Kiang contribute with greater or less regularity to the copper industry fund. Taels 270,000 worth of copper passed through Ichang for Peking in 1895; part was detained at Wuch'ang, for the mints there.

Yün Nan has two salt-wells of her own of very ancient standing, each of which is down for an excise of Taels 4,000; but in 1888 both were in a borrowing stage. The *likin* administration, under an expectant *taotai*, acting subordinately to the *sz-tao* (provincial government committee) produces Taels 400,000 a year. The "man and horse" *corvées* were commuted in or about 1883 for a money payment. There is a "sale of office" in connection with Yün Nan for "sea defence": according to the 35th report, published in 1896, Taels 7,874 had been received for 19 titles.

The copper industry used to be very flourishing. For a hundred years on end the Peking Board received from Yün Nan 6,300,000 Chinese pounds (4,000 tons) of copper for coining in exchange for Taels 1,000,000 in silver. After the suppression of the Panthay rebellion the Board recommenced remitting, but for some time it was only found possible to send 5,000,000 pounds in exchange for Taels 2,000,000. For some years back a high officer has been placed in special charge of the mines, and other provinces, as already stated, have had to contribute.

Formosa is now Japanese, but it is perhaps worth while mentioning that the land-tax for 1892 amounted to

Taels 329,876. The *likin*, chiefly on tea, was under Taels 100,000. But in any case Formosa had only been a separate province for a few years. Previous to the Eighties, it formed part of Fuh Kien, on the mainland, and was a happy hunting-ground for squeezing officials. It certainly never contributed anything to Peking beyond the Foreign Customs collection. Though there are salt-evaporating flats both in the north and the south of Formosa, they have never been under official supervision, and in any case the French war interfered with their prosperity. In 1824 Chang Chou, in Fuh Kien, was allowed to supply Formosa, but the T'aip'ing rebellion disorganized that arrangement. Of late years Ts'üan-chou salt has been brought over by steamer. Previous to the Japanese war, Formosa received Taels 120,000 or Taels 130,000 from her levies on salt; and when the Governor LIU MING-CHWAN was in charge of the island he joined the Fuh Kien Viceroy in strongly protesting against the separation of Formosa from the mainland so far as the salt trade was concerned. Chang-chou and Ts'üan-chou in exchange for their salt took Formosan rice.

The Formosan land-taxes were reorganized by the Governor LIU about ten years ago. Most of the cultivators are squatters from Swatow and Amoy. The local gentry, discovering that these squatters had brought waste lands under cultivation, used to apply for grants on the ground that they themselves had done so, and then charge the ignorant squatters a rent. The original grantees having often transferred their grants, it has been found necessary to partly acquiesce in this iniquitous arrangement.

THE HSI HSIA DYNASTY OF TANGUT, THEIR MONEY AND PECULIAR SCRIPT.

By S. W. Bushell, C.M.G., M.D.

The name of Tangut, applied to an independent State on the north-west of China, was well known to mediæval travellers through central Asia, and Marco Polo devotes several chapters to an account of the five provinces into which it was divided after its final conquest by the celebrated Genghis Khan in the year 1227. It was then first called Kansu, a combination of the names of two of its chief cities, Kanchou and Suchou, and its boundaries were, generally speaking, those of the modern Chinese province of the same name.

The native tribes were called by the Chinese *T'ang-hiang*; by the Mongols *Tangu*, or, with the plural suffix, *Tangut*, and it is from the Mongols that we first got the name. They are closely allied to the Tibetans, who border them on the south-west, as is shown by the vocabulary of their language collected by Colonel Prejevalsky[1], who gives an interesting account of the territory and characteristic traits of the people.

The ruling house belonged to the Toba tribe, and claimed kinship with the Toba Dynasty which had reigned in Northern China, under the Chinese title of Wei, from A.D. 386 to 557.

[1] *Travels in Mongolia, the Tangut Country and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet*, Vol. II, pp. 136-138.

They first came prominently to the front in Chinese annals during the T'ang Dynasty in the year 884, when their chief, then feudal governor of Yuchou on the northern frontier, aided the emperor in the recovery of his capital, Singan fu from the rebel Huang Ch'ao, and was rewarded by being given the imperial surname of Li, and hereditary rule over five *chou* cities in the upper valley of the Yellow River, the chief of which was Hsia-chou, the modern Ning-hsia-fu, which became ultimately the capital of the new State. They held their ground during the short-lived Five Dynasties which succeeded the T'ang, and until the year 982, when a grandson of Li Ssŭ-kung, the military chief alluded to above, appeared at the court of the second emperor of the rising Sung Dynasty to tender his submission and surrender his five cities to the Chinese.

But he was disavowed by the rest of his house, and the standard of revolt was raised by a younger brother named Li Chi-ch'ien, who reconquered the country after many romantic adventures, gained a princess in marriage with a dowry of three thousand horses from the Kitan Dynasty, then ruling over Northern China, and became the real founder of a new independent dynasty, of which he was afterwards canonized as *T'ai Tsu*, the "Great Ancestor." He took the important walled city of Liang-chou in 1002, but died the same year from the effect of an arrow wound received in a riot incited by the Chinese after the city had capitulated.

His grandson, Li Yuan-hao, who succeeded in 1032, at once threw off the nominal fealty which his father had adopted in his relations with the Sung emperors, assumed the title of *Huang Ti* for himself, and that of *Ta Hsia* for his dynasty, claiming descent from the *Hsia* of the second millennium B.C., the first of the Three Ancient Chinese Dynasties. Hence the title of *Hsi Hsia*, "Western Hsia," which the Chinese give to the dynasty. His claims were set forth in a

formal despatch sent to the Sung emperor, the text of which is preserved in the annals.

The official histories of the contemporary Chinese dynasties, the Sung (A.D. 960-1279), the Liao (916-1119), and the Chin (1115-1234), are, in fact, the sources to which we must refer for authentic information about the Tangut rulers, as no books in their own script have survived. The special Chinese books on the subject that have appeared since consist mainly of extracts from the dynastic histories, strung together by the compiler to form a connected narrative. The best of these is the 西夏紀事本末 *Hsi Hsia Chi Shih Pên Mo*, "Records of the Hsi Hsia Dynasty from its Foundation to its Close," in thirty-six chapters (*chüan*), by 張鑑, Chang Chien. The value of this is enhanced by a series of chronological tables, in which the accession, changes of *Nien-hao*, and principal events of each ruler, together with the concurrent reigns of the Chinese dynasties, are given in columns headed by the cyclical year.

Topographic tables are also prefixed, including a long list of the fortified passes on the Chinese frontier, taken from the works of Fan Chung-yen[2], the famous statesman of the Sung Dynasty, under whose orders the fortifications were built when he was viceroy of the provinces of Shensi and Hotung (now Shansi). He died at his post there in 1052. To him we owe also a map of the five divisions (*lu*) of the province of Shensi, and a map of the Hsi Hsia dominions at the time. They were bounded, according to the map, by the Sung Empire on the south and east, by the Liao (Kitan) on the north-east, the Tartars (Tata) on the north, the Ouigour Turks (Hui-hu) on the west, and the Tibetans on the south-west. The Alashan mountains stretch along the northern frontier, and the western extends to the Jade Gate (Yü Mên Kuan) on the border of

[2] MAYERS' *Chinese Reader's Manual*, No. 124.

the Desert of Gobi. The cities of Kanchou and Suchou and all the N.-W. country as far as the great desert had been taken from the Ouigour Turks by Li Yuan-hao in 1031, the year before he succeeded to this throne.

The Tangut rulers owed their independence for nearly two centuries to their skill in guerilla warfare and to the politic wiles which they exhibited to the rival dynasties which flourished at the time in northern and southern China, accepting valuable presents and high-sounding titles from each in turn. Their closest alliances were with the Kitan emperors, who gave them princesses in marriage, and the last of the Kitan line fled for refuge to the Tangut court in 1123 when hard pressed by the Juchen Tartars, but only to be sent back again across the Yellow River the following year and delivered up to his hereditary enemies. At the same time the Tangut ruler offered his allegiance to the Juchen, who had established a new dynasty at Peking under the title of *Chin* or "Golden," on the condition that their country should not be invaded. Their relations with the Altun, or "Golden" Khans were generally friendly, and the names of many Tangut envoys sent each year to congratulate the *Chin* sovereign on his birthday, and at the New Year's festival, are to be found in the Chin History, the historian plaintively remarking that they continued to send missions for presents even when invading and plundering the southern borders of their entertainers.

Genghis Khan appeared on the scene in the beginning of the next century, the thirteenth, and he invaded Tangut three times in the intervals of his other conquests. The first invasion was in 1209, when the Tangut sovereign An-ch'üan offered his submission and allowed the Mongol hordes to be led through his territory east of the Yellow River to attack the Juchen. The second was in 1217, when the Mongols invested the capital, and the new ruler, Tsun-

hsien, who had meanwhile succeeded, fled to Liang-chou. He subsequently refused to fulfil a promise to send a contingent of horsemen to aid Genghis in his incursion into Transoxiana, and thus gave a pretext for the final declaration of war on the return of the Mongol Khan from the borders of India. The last campaign which followed was in the winter of 1225, Etzina and the walled cities of Kanchou, Suchou, and Liangchou falling in rapid succession. In 1226, Lingchou and Yenchou on the right side of the Yellow River were captured, the river was crossed, and a great battle was fought under the walls of the capital in which Genghis was victorious. The Tangut sovereign came afterwards to the tent of the conqueror, with golden images of Buddha, vessels of gold and silver, and many other precious gifts, including pages and damsels, camels and horses, in multiples of nine, a favourite number among the Mongols, but he was ill received. He died the same year of grief for the sufferings of his people, who were being relentlessly massacred by the Mongols in their usual fashion in spite of his surrender.

A nephew named Hsien was proclaimed his successor and bravely defended the capital against the Mongol generals who were left to besiege it, while Genghis himself passed on to attack the Chin empire, taking the frontier city of Chi-shih-chou in the defile west of Shensi, where the Yellow River enters China, and many other important places in quick succession including Lin-t'ao-fu. But his career was now approaching its close, and he died in the 7th month of the next year (A.D. 1227) in the Liu-p'an mountains, on the borders of the province of Shensi, where he had retired for the hot season.

Meanwhile, by the last month of summer, all the fortified places and towns of Tangut had been taken, and the people

were ruthlessly exterminated. "They dug holes in the ground," according to the chronicler, "and hid in caves to "escape the edge of the sword, but only one or two in the "hundred saved their lives, and the land became a wilderness "strewn with whitening bones." The last ruler, Li Hsien, surrendered to Ogodai, the successor of Genghis, in the year 1227. He was slain on the spot, and the Tangut Dynasty ended with him after a course of 195 years, reckoning from the accession of Li Yuan-hao in A.D. 1032.

The following table, compiled from the *Hsi Hsia Chi Shih Pên Mo*, which has been already alluded to, gives the succession of sovereigns, and the changes of *nien-hao* which distinguished their reigns.

THE HSI HSIA DYNASTY.

DYNASTIC TITLE OR MIAO HAO.	ACCESSION.	TITLE OF REIGN OR NIEN HAO.	ADOPTION OF NIEN HAO.
	A.D.		A.D.
太祖 T'ai Tsu	982	Declaration of Independence by Li Chi Ch'ien.	
太宗 T'ai Tsung	1002	Named Li Tê Ming	
景宗 Ching Tsung	1032	顯道 Hsien Tao	1032
		開運 K'ai Yun	1034
		廣運 Kuang Yun	1034
		大慶 Ta Ch'ing	1036
		天授禮 T'ien Shou Li	1038
		法延祚 Fa Yen Tso	
		延嗣 Yen Ssŭ	1049
毅宗 Yi Tsung	1049	寧國 Ning Kuo	
		天祐 T'ien Yu	1050
		垂聖 Ch'ui Shêng	
		福聖 Fu Shêng	1053
		承道 Ch'êng Tao	
		顯都 Shê Tu	1057
		拱化 Kung Hua	1063

THE HSI HSIA DYNASTY—*(continued)*.

DYNASTIC TITLE OR MIAO HAO.	ACCESSION.	TITLE OF REIGN OR NIEN HAO.	ADOPTION OF NIEN HAO.
	A.D.		A.D.
惠宗 Hui Tsung	1068	乾道 Ch'ien Tao	1068
		天賜禮 T'ien Tz'ŭ Li	1070
		盛國慶 Shêng Kuo Ch'ing	
		大安 Ta An	1075
		天安 T'ien An	1086
		禮定 Li Ting	
崇宗 Ch'ung Tsung	1087	天儀 T'ien Yi	1087
		治平 Chih P'ing	
		天祐 T'ien Yu	1091
		民安 Min An	
		永安 Yung An	1099
		貞觀 Chên Kuan	1102
		雍寧 Yung Ning	1115
		元德 Yuan Tê	1120
		正德 Chêng Tê	1127
		大德 Ta Tê	1135
仁宗 Jên Tsung	1140	大慶 Ta Ch'ing	1140
		人慶 Jên Ch'ing	1144
		天盛 T'ien Shêng	1147
		乾祐 Ch'ien Yu	1169
桓宗 Huan Tsung	1194	天慶 T'ien Ch'ing	1194
襄宗 Hsiang Tsung	1206	應天 Ying T'ien	1206
		皇建 Huang Chien	1210
神宗 Shên Tsung	1213	光定 Kuang Ting	1213
獻宗 Hsien Tsung	1223	乾定 Ch'ien Ting	1223
末主 Mo Chu	1227	寶慶 Pao Ch'ing	1227

The coins of the Tangut Dynasty, which are all made of copper, moulded after the ordinary Chinese type with a square hole in the middle for stringing, are of two classes. The first class comprises those with inscriptions in the Tangut script which are the earliest in date. The second class, with

Chinese inscriptions on the obverse, begins with the issue of the Yuan-tê period (A.D. 1120-26), nothing anterior to this date having hitherto been discovered.

The invention of the Tangut script is generally attributed to Yuan-hao, although the history of the Liao Dynasty ascribes it to his father Tê-ming (1002-32). Anyhow, it first came into general use in the reign of Yuan-hao, who, indeed, claims for himself its invention in a despatch to the Sung emperor, and he changed the title of his reign to *Ta Ch'ing*, "Great Good-fortune" on the occasion, in the year 1036, and ordered all his decrees to be issued, and all the official memorials and historical records to be henceforth written in the new script. It is said to have been modelled in the lines of the antique official Chinese script known as *li shu*, the new characters being described as square in outline, with complicated strokes, and frequent repetitions. The *Hsiao Ching*, "Filial Piety Classic," the *Êrh Ya*, an ancient dictionary, and some other Chinese books were translated into the Tangut tongue by the aid of the new script at this period, although it was not till a later reign, apparently, that coins were issued.

One of these coins with a Tangut legend on the obverse is figured in the *Ch'üan Chih*, 泉志, the earliest special numismatic work which has come down to us, having been published by Hung Tsun, in XV books, during the Southern Sung Dynasty, in the 19th year (A.D. 1149) of the Shao Hsing period. It is placed by Hung Tsun among the foreign coins (Bk. XI, fol. 4) and the inscription is declared by him to be undecipherable. The illustration copied in later books was wrongly supposed to be an example of the Juchen (Niuchih) script, an opinion adopted by Mr. WYLIE, who reproduced the woodcut in his paper [3] on the hexaglot

[3] "On an Ancient Buddhist Inscription at Kun-yung-kwan," by A. WYLIE. *Trans. R. Asiatic Society*, 1870.

inscriptions in the Chü-yung-kuan arch near Peking.[4] One of the six scripts in this arch, which he also takes to be Niuchih, adopting the dictum of a Chinese author, is really a fine example of the Tangut script we are referring to, as is at once evident when the rubbings are compared with those of the bilingual inscription from Liang-chou fu in the province of Kansu, which I have the honour of presenting to the Society.

These inscriptions come from a stone monument, or stele (*pei*), more than eight feet long, preserved in a Buddhist temple called Ta Yun Ssŭ, or Great Cloud Monastery. The Tangut inscription is engraved on the south face of the slab, the Chinese on the reverse side. The Chinese is not an identical version of the Tangut, but many similarities in the wording may be detected, and both are intended to commemorate the repair of the celebrated seven-storied wooden pagoda of Liang-chou, and are dated[5] "the cyclical "day *wu-tzŭ*, the 15th of the first month beginning with "the day *chia-hsü*, in the cyclical year *chia-hsü*, being the "5th of T'ien Yu Min An."[6] The fifth year of this period, according to our Dynastic Table (page 148), would be equivalent to A.D. 1095, but the cyclical year *chia-hsü* is that of A.D. 1094, which proves that the compiler of the table is one year ahead in his calculation at this point, and that the stone was actually erected in the year 1094.

The general purport of the inscription may be gathered from the Chinese side, although this is, unfortunately, less complete than the other, the edges of the stone having exfoliated. It gives a sketch of the history of the pagoda, from the time when it was built in the 3rd century A.D.

[4] These rubbings have been lately published in facsimile by Prince ROLAND BONAPARTE, in an album entitled "Documents de l'époque Mongole des XIII et XIV Siècles." Paris, 1895, grand in fol.

[5] *See* Illustrations facing page 155.

[6] Compare MAYERS' *Chinese Reader's Manual*, page, 363.

by T'ien Hsi, who was then the independent ruler of a small state of which Liangchou was the capital, and gave up his palace for the purpose after it had been revealed to him by certain portents that it had been built on the original site of one of the 84,000 relic shrines erected by the celebrated Indian Rajah Asoka. From the foundation of the pagoda to the 4th year (A.D. 1093), of the T'ien Yu Min An period, the inscription says [7] 720 years had lapsed, during which many miraculous signs and wonders had appeared to attest the efficacy of the Buddhist law, and the people had always found the pagoda a powerful protector. Two of these occasions are related, how during the preceding reign in the second year (A.D. 1076), of the period Ta An, the Tibetans had invaded the country, and had precipitatedly retraced their footsteps when frightened by a spontaneous illumination of the tower by magic lights on a dark night; and again, how in the 8th year (A.D. 1082)[8], of the same period the Tangut sovereign had sent officers to the shrine to worship, and thus gained victory for himself when he invaded China.

The pagoda is declared to have often righted itself after it had been tilted by earthquakes or bent by storms, the sounds of awl and axe, worked by unseen hands, being heard by the neighbours amidst the thunder and lightning. An earthquake, however, had occurred two years before, inflicting serious damage, which had to be reported by the officials, who were

[7] The legend says (EITEL'S *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*), that Asoka built 84,000 stupas in different parts of the world to preserve the relics of Buddha. The same number occurs, apparently in a similar connection, in one of the columns of the small Tangut script on the east side of the Chü-yung-kuan arch. I have given the Tangut symbols for this number together with other numerals, culled from other parts of this Liangchou stele in the Illustration, the unit only having eluded my search.

[8] The Chinese History of the Sung Dynasty describes a huge invasion of the Tangut tribes, headed by their sovereign, in this year, attributing it to the fact that a walled city called Yung-lo had been built near the frontier, and confessing that no less than 200,000 officers, soldiers, agriculturists and artisans were massacred by the invaders.

ordered by edict to repair and redecorate the pagoda as well as the temples and monasteries attached to it. The work was completed by the 1st month of the cyclical year *chia-hsü* (A.D. 1094), and the ruler issued a decree appointing a commission of officials and monks, whose names and titles are recorded on the tablet, to preside over a grand ceremonial inauguration. This was held on the day of full moon, the great drums resounded and the temple tables were spread for rich and poor alike. Thirty-eight priests were ordained, and fifty-four criminals condemned to death were liberated to celebrate the great occasion. The two "sacred ones" (*i.e.*, the Empress Dowager and the young Tangut Emperor) specially bestowed 15 ounces of gold, 50 ounces of silver, 60 pieces of thick and thin silk for robes, 70 pieces of rich silks and gold brocades for banners, and 1,000 strings of cash for temple use. Besides, another million "cash," a thousand *hu* measures of millet, and four households of government artisans, to provide for the needs of the resident monks, native and Chinese, who were enjoined always to keep incense burning and candles lighted before the Buddhist shrines.

The existence of this Tangut script seems to be almost unknown, even to Chinese archæologists, and we still find the compilers of the new edition of the official geography of the province of Chihli referring the "unknown script" in the Chü-yung-kuan arch to the Juchen. It is only the numismatic writers who seem to be better informed, thanks to a find of coins in the beginning of this century in this same city of Liang-chou fu, at a time when the celebrated scholar Liu Ch'ing-yuan happened to be stationed in the province of Kansu. The *Chi Chin So Chien Lu*, a well-known numismatic work published in 1820, figures one of the coins with Tangut legend and quotes an account of the discovery written by the scholar just mentioned :—

"A native peasant of Liangchou, while digging in a field,

discovered recently several earthenware jars full of ancient cash. Most of them were inscribed K'ai Yuan[9], but there were many coins of the Northern Sung and of the Liao (Kitan) Dynasties, and not a few of the Hsi Hsia (Tangut) Dynasty with Chinese inscriptions, including examples of the periods Yuan Tê (1120-26), T'ien Shêng (1147-68), Ch'ien Yu (1169-93), T'ien Ch'ing (1194-1205), Huang Chien (1210-12), and Kuang Ting (1213-22). In addition to all these there were several coins with an inscription in a foreign script. I selected from the find more than a thousand specimens for my own collection.

"When I was at Liangchou I took rubbings from the inscriptions on an ancient stone stele (*pei*) in a Buddhist Temple called Ta Yun Ssŭ (Great Cloud Monastery), the southern face of which is inscribed with characters of the same kind as those on the coins, while on the back it is recorded, in the ordinary Chinese script, that the stone was erected in the 5th year of the period T'ien Yu Min An (A.D. 1091). So I learned that the coins were really examples of the foreign script of the Hsi Hsia Dynasty. It is passing strange that the author of the *Ch'üan Chih*, writing so soon after the time they were issued, should have been ignorant of this fact, and that it should have been reserved for me to solve the problem so many centuries later."

The solution, so deftly stated, is incontestable, and it has been generally accepted by later numismatic writers, although they all pass the coins as undecipherable. The author of the *Ku Ch'üan Hui* says that he has seen three varieties and attempts to illustrate them, but with ill success. I have

[9] *K'ai Yuan* was the inscription on the bronze coinage of the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618-906), during part of which Liangchou was in possession of the Chinese. The K'ai Yuan coins often have crescents, or nail marks on the reverse, a peculiarity copied on some of the earlier Tangut issues.

two in my own collection which are figured here. Although very rare, even in China, the first is represented in the British Museum by duplicate specimens, obtained, I believe, from the collection of the Prince of Tamba in Japan, for plaster casts of which I am much indebted to Mr. GRUEBER, the Keeper of the Coin Department. The inscription has been deciphered by the help of the rubbings which I have described, according to the materials which have been extracted and collected in the right-hand column of the accompanying illustration.

The *nien-hao* of Ta An occurs, it will be seen, twice in the Tangut rubbing from Liangchou, marking events which, we are told, happened in the preceding reign, *i.e.* that of Hui Tsung (1068-86). The only *nien-hao* in this reign which lasted long enough to have an eighth year was that of Ta An (1075-85), so this must be the one referred to in the text. Moreover the symbol for *ta*, "great," is found frequently in other columns. It is only the symbol for *an*, "peace," which suggests a doubt, as it is not identical with the symbol which represents the *an* of *T'ien Yu Min An*, "Peace for the People by Aid of Heaven," the period in the fifth year of which the stone was erected, although the two symbols are similar in construction. A clue may, perhaps, be found here to the original method of construction of the peculiar script which still remains to be elucidated.

The third symbol, at the bottom of the coin, occurs more than once on the Liangchou monument, and again on the small Tangut text on the east side of the Chü-yung-kuan arch, from the first column of which I have taken the two symbols in the illustration which represent *San Pao*, "The Three Precious Ones" of Buddhist worship. The two for *Pao T'a*, "Precious Pagoda," which follow, indicate, of course, the relic-enshrining stupa, the restoration of which the slab was intended to commemorate. It occurs in one of

大安二年大安八年　三寶　寶塔　千緡錢

天祐民安甲戌五年正月甲戌十五戊子日

二三四五六七八九十十百千萬八百二十年

八萬四千舍利　黃金十五兩　白金五十兩

2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
10
100
1000
10000
820 Years

the stanzas of the rhyming odes, or hymns of praise which, I forgot to mention, are attached to both Tangut and Chinese versions, summing up the preceding text, lauding the matchless might of Buddha, and summing up the stores of merit gained by the good deeds of the two reigning Tangut sovereigns. Among these good deeds we find inscribed on the stone the gift on two occasions of a thousand strings of "cash" (*ch'ien mien ch'ien*), equivalent to a million copper coins, the symbol employed for the last word being identical with that found on the left of the square hole in the coin. The adjective, by the way, seems to have come after the noun in Tangutan, like it usually does in Tibetan, as may be gathered from the readings of yellow metal (gold) and white metal (silver), which have been copied from the Liangchou text in our illustration. So the inscription on the coin may be taken to be equivalent to the Chinese *ch'ien pao* or "cash money," *pao* being the ordinary Chinese symbol for "money" in this connection.

The following twelve figures represent the copper coinage of the Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tangut. Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11 are taken from specimens in my own possession, the rest are extracted from Chinese numismatic books.



1.

Copper coin of the period Ta An (A.D. 1075-85), in the reign of Ping Ch'ang (1068-86), whose dynastic title is Hui Tsung. Inscribed on the obverse with four characters in the Tangut script, which, read from the top to the right and round the field, are equivalent, as shown above, to the

Chinese symbols *Ta An Pao Ch'ien*, meaning "Cash Money of the Ta An period." Reverse blank.



2.

Copper coin of a similar type to No. 1 with an inscription on the obverse of four symbols in the Tangut script. The last two are identical with the symbols on No. 1 and are equivalent to the Chinese characters *pao* and *ch'ien*. The first two, which would indicate, doubtless, the period (*nien-hao*), have not yet been deciphered, not occurring on any of the Tangut inscriptions known to us. On the reverse there is, above the central hole, a crescent, or nail-mark in relief, reminding one of similar marks occurring on K'ai Yuan cash of the T'ang Dynasty of China.



3.

Copper coin of the reign of Ch'ien Shun (A.D. 1087-1139), dynastic title Ch'ung Tsung. The inscription, pencilled in a somewhat archaic Chinese script like that of the coinage of the T'ang Dynasty, and read, like the inscription on them, from above downwards and right to left, is *Yuan Tê T'ung Pao*, *i.e.* "Current Money of the Yuan Tê period" (A.D. 1120-26).

The Far East was overrun with government issues of paper money at this time, and specimens of the notes of the

Sung Dynasty of Southern China, of the Chin Dynasty of Northern China, of the Western Liao, or Kara Kitai of Transoxiana, and of the contemporary Tangut Dynasty all of similar type, printed on coarse gray-black oblong sheets made from the fibrous bark of the paper mulberry, are illustrated in the *Ch'üan Pu T'ung Chih*, a voluminous numismatic work. The two Tangut (*Ta Hsia*) Money Notes (*Pao Ch'ao*), of the value of one string and five strings of "cash" respectively, and both dated Yuan Tê (1120-26), are to be found, with facsimiles of the government seals with which they were stamped, in Book VI, fol. 65-69. The script is Chinese, the original notes having been printed from wood blocks.



4.

Copper coin of the reign of Ch'ien Shun (A.D. 1087-1139), dynastic title Ch'ung Tsung, inscribed *Chêng Tê Yuan Pao*, *i.e.* "Original Money of the Chêng Tê period" (A.D, 1127-34). The same *nien-hao* was subsequently adopted by the Chinese Emperor Wu Tsung of the Ming Dynasty, who reigned in A.D. 1506-21, but his coinage is all inscribed *T'ung Pao*, "Current Money," and the above coins, moreover, are to be distinguished by the red colour of the alloy, as well as by the style of handwriting being similar to that of the other Tangut issues.



5.

Copper coin of the reign of Ch'ien Shun (A.D. 1087-1139), dynastic title Ch'ung Tsung, inscribed *Ta Tê Yuan Pao*, *i.e.* "Original Money of the Ta Tê period" (1135-39). The money of the Ta Tê period (1297-1306), of the Chinese Yuan Dynasty differs from this issue in being all inscribed *T'ung Pao*, or "Current Money."



6.

Coinage of the reign of Jên Hsiao, the son of the last, who reigned A.D. 1140-93, and was canonized with the dynastic title of Jên Tsung. Both copper and iron coins are in my collection with the same inscription *T'ien Shêng Yuan Pao*, *i.e.* "Original Money of the T'ien Shêng period" (1147-1168).



7.

Coinage of the same reign as the preceding with the inscription *Ch'ien Yu Yuan Pao*, *i.e.* "Original Money of the Ch'ien Yu period" (A.D. 1169-93). Both copper and iron "cash" of this issue are represented, the latter being the more common of the two.



8.

Copper coin of the reign of Ch'un Yu (A.D. 1194-1205), the son of the preceding, who was canonized as Huan Tsung. Inscribed *T'ien Ch'ing Yuan Pao, i.e.* "Original Money of the T'ien Ch'ing period" (1194-1205).

The last emperor of the Liao (Kitan) Dynasty had adopted this *nien-hao* in A.D. 1111, and issued copper "cash" with the inscription *Yuan Pao*, as well as with *T'ung Pao*, "Current Money," but his coins are more roughly cast and with the inscription of inferior finish when compared with those from the Tangut mint.



9.

Copper coin of the reign of An Ch'üan, who dethroned his uncle, Ch'un Yu, on New Year's Day 1206, and adopted the title of Ying T'ien, "Obedient to Heaven," on the occasion. He was canonized with the dynastic title of Hsiang Tsung, having reigned till the year 1212. The inscription on the coinage is *Ying T'ien Yuan Pao, i.e.* "Original Money of the Ying T'ien period" (A.D. 1206-1209).



10.

Copper coin of the same reign as the last with the inscription *Huang Chien Yuan Pao, i.e.* "Original Money of the Huang Chien period" (A.D. 1210-12)



11.

Copper coin of the reign of Tsun Hsien, an adopted son of the last sovereign, who was commander-in-chief of the army when his predecessor died in 1212. He reigned till the year 1222, when he resigned the throne to his son. His dynastic title is Shên Tsung. The inscription on the coinage is *Kuang Ting Yuan Pao, i.e.* "Original Money of the Kuang Ting period" (A.D. 1212-22).



12.

Copper coin of the reign of Tê Wang, the son of the last, who reigned till the year 1226, and was canonized with the dynastic title of Hsien Tsung. The inscription is *Ch'ien Ting Yuan Pao, i.e.* "Original Money of the period Ch'ien Ting" (A.D. 1223-26). This is the rarest of the Tangut coins, no doubt because very few were cast during the ruthless Mongol invasion of the country under Genghis Khan, who finally exterminated the Tangut Dynasty in the following year (A.D. 1227).

A MANCHU UKASE.

By M. F. A. Fraser, Esq.

The bilingual Jubilee Proclamation in honour of the Empress Regent of China, Secondary Consort of the Emperor who reigned from 1851 to 1862 under the reign-style Hien Fêng (Gupci elgiyengge), is worthy of careful notice from several points of view. Looking at it as a political manifesto, it curiously exemplifies the ultra conservative ideas of the Chinese, a baby nation which never grows older or wiser. The policy proclaimed is to follow the example set in the arts of Government by the King of Chow, a chief who is said to have flourished in 1122 B.C.; or, worse still, of him of Poh, B.C. 1766; not to go still farther back, to which the advisers of the Son of Heaven have no objection. It is full of old-world superstition, injustice, and general stupidity. Looking at the religious ceremonies ordered, we observe the polytheistic, Shinto nature of the State religion. As a literary composition it is a good specimen, in the Chinese (which was no doubt the original language in which it was composed), of the bombastic style, loaded with quotations—the more recondite the better—in which the native *literatus* delights to display his foolish learning. The Manchu version is noticeable as a rarity, for it is only on very special occasions that the Tartar Government proclaim anything to the people in this language, which the Government only artificially keep alive and the people do not understand. The following points about this Manchu specimen may be noticed.

In the first place, looking at it purely externally, one is struck with the euphony of its dactylic flow, and the occasionally very harmonious combinations of its vowels and consonants. In these æsthetic respects it contrasts favorably with the literary style of Chinese—monosyllabic, staccato—which would sound like the quacking of ducks, were it not the custom of the *literatus* to intone it in a sort of whining recitative, in order to bring out its metrical balance and its shocking alternation of high and low tones.

Secondly, note the unblushing way in which it borrows words from the Chinese. Here is the list of them: they swarm in almost every paragraph (if the word paragraph may be used, for, strictly speaking, no Oriental who respects himself would assist his reader in getting at his meaning by such undignified means as paragraphs, capital letters, commas, colons, etc.).

Hwangdi, the Emperor, the Khan (here romanised as Han).

Hiaoshun, "filial piety."

Doro, the *tao* or principle (rendering of 基 *ki*, the foundation).

Fengshen, (rendering of 祉, good fate).

Ginggulemę, reverently, (*King-kung*), to render 欽 (*k'in*).

Gunggencuke, reverent, to render 恭 (*kung*).

Hwang-taiheo, the Empress.

Deyen, the palace (殿), the *tien*.

Cese, the note-book (*tse-tsz*), marked with red colour.

Gu, Jade-stone (*Yüh*).

Dangse, a scroll (單子 *tan-tsz*).

Wang, the monarch.

Boobi, the precious (Imperial Seal,—*pao-pei*).

Taifin, peaceful, *t'ai-p'ing* (rendering of 熙, one of the Empress's newly-assumed names).

Gung, a Duke (*kung*).
Shangnaha, bestowal (renders 賜).
Gungcu, princesses (*kung chu*, 公主).
Fujin, a wife of a wang (renders 王妃 *wang-fei*).
Janggin, a general (in Japanese, *shŏ gun*,—from Chinese *tsiang-kün*).
Fungnere, *Fungnehen* } confer title (贈封 *feng-tseng*).
Yamun, a *Yamen*, official residence, public office.
Fulun, official salary (*feng-luh*).
Shusei, scholars (*Hüoh*, Pekinese *hsüe* to learn).
Ginggen, a *catty*, 1⅓ lbs ; the *kin* (斤).
Taigiasa, eunuchs (*T'ai-kien*).
Caliyan, pay, stipend (*ts'ien liang*, 錢糧).

This list only includes the words which appear indubitably of Chinese origin, but more might perhaps be included. For instance, *feng-kin*, which ZAKHAROFF derives from *feng-jen* (unfortunately his work does not give the Chinese hieroglyphic); *gurung*, palace, which he derives from *kung* (宮) and *fiyan*, red, which he says is *yen* (胭) *rouge* for the face. This learned Russian Professor adapted into a Manchu-Russ Dictionary, in 1875, the native Dictionary of 1771 in Manchu and Chinese, with explanations in Manchu. In running through either of these collections one is struck with the extent of the loans to Manchu from the Chinese. The former language is much better adapted to civilization, as it boasts of a syllabary, improved from the Mongol, which again came from the Syriac. This syllabary is really, when analyzed, better than a syllabary ; it is an alphabet. It is not like the rudimentary Japanese equivalent, derived from Chinese hieroglyphics, which has to write *ra*, *re*, *ri*, *ro*, *ru*, for instance, in five ways differing as greatly as our syllables *am*, *be*, *cat*, *dumb*, *east*. It is not, like the Japanese, infested with too many

homonyms, as *hachi*, to dismiss, *hachi*, a basin, *hachi*, eight, *hachi*, a bee, *hashi*, a bridge, *hashi*, chopsticks, *hashi*, a beak, *hashi*, an edge; *koto*, a harp, *koto*, a business, *koto*, strange. It is not, therefore, like the Japanese, compelled to keep up a running fire of Chinese hieroglyphics or ideographs by the side of its phonetic writing, to make the latter intelligible to its readers. These characters, moreover, are in themselves graceful and elegant and easy to learn, and not grotesque and difficult like the Japanese. They are not, like the latter, at a dead loss to express even such simple sounds as the letter L, or the syllables *ti*, *tu*, *si*, *di*, *du*. But while the instrument is so good, its capacities have never been fully developed. The Manchus, a nation of 5,000,000, "scattered in "garrisons over a vast Empire, among the most numerous "race that history tells of," says ZAKHAROFF, "found it im- "possible to live without knowing the Chinese tongue, and "having no literature of their own, had to have recourse to "Chinese books. Their Government itself, in spite of its "desire to preserve the nationality of its people, found that "its Imperial interests centred more and more in China since "the conquest, and that it had more talking and writing to "do in Chinese than in Manchu, which latter in consequence "lost ground." [See *The Chinese Recorder*, March 1891.] What compromises and concessions, what able intrigue and worming-in indeed, must it have required to fill nearly half of the higher metropolitan and provincial mandarinates with Manchus and Mongols! These causes have arrested the development of Manchu, and the dream of the early Emperors, of glorifying and extending it, has not been realised.

In this language of nomad tent-dwellers, we find scores upon scores of varied phrases relating, for instance, to horses—their colour, shape, paces, virtues, vices, and diseases, but

comparatively very few expressions adapted to settled life in towns, under a complex social and administrative system. Such words have been imported, with increasing frequency, from the Chinese. Is it not the case that as, in these 300 years, the language has been tinged with Chinese words and idioms, so also the mind of the speakers has become tainted with Chinese ideas, and to a far greater extent?

Spelling, or "romanising."—In looking at the preceding examples and the following transcription, the reader should note that the old guttural Kh (as in the well-known word *Khan*), has been represented by an H. As some languages write this sound with one letter and not two, I have followed Mr. P. G. VON MÖLLENDORFF'S *Manchu Reader* example, and used only one. The only drawback seems to be that in words like *nashun*, the *h* is more likely to be thought to coalesce with the *s*, and form *sh*, whereas the real sound is *s—kh*. However, no system is perfect. I have also followed Mr. VON MÖLLENDORFF and others in using a simple *c* instead of a *ch*, for the same reason. When a *k* sound is wanted, whether before *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, or *u*, a *k* is used, not a *c*. The palatal *j* (soft sonant) is to the palatal *c* (hard, surd), in this method, as their respective gutturals *g* (soft, sonant) and *k* (hard, surd), to each other. [If any reader is offended, let him think of MARK TWAIN'S excuse for the Italians writing Leonardo da Vinci and pronouncing it "Veenchy:" "*Foreigners always spell better than they pronounce.*"]

The Manchu Text Transliterated.

ABKAI hese forgon-be aliha, Hwangdi-i hese: Bi gunici, Enduringge niyalma *hiaoshun* i Abkai fejergi-be dasara-de, wesihulere uilere be yooni ujelehe. Han (Khan) ohongge, tumen irgen-ci nendere de, iletuleme algimbume ten-be ilibuha. Julge-be kimcici dorgi huwa-de shunggiyan mak-

dafi, *Jeo* gurun i tondo jiramin i doro-be neibuhe, shumin gurung-de saikan tukiyecefi. Bu hecen i onco gosin i dasan-be badarambuha, ede nenehe algiu-be colgorofi, fengshen imiyabuha-be dahame, urgunjeme sebjeleme wesihun kooli yabuburengge giyan. Gingguleme gunici, Jilanhuturi top karmangga nelhe ujingga ginggiyen sulfangga top unenggi jalafungga gunggencuke kobton fengkin *hwang taiheo*, erdemu kulun i ikengge de acanaha, doro dahasun jiramin de iletulehe, dorgi gurung de tacihiyan tutabufi, shumin gosin huturi fengshen i sekiyen be badarambuha. Shunggiri deyen-de sabi ajabufi, wesihun jalafun mukdendere jebundara, sayin de acanaha. Sunja huturi i doro ujude jalan sefi, gumin (?) jalafun saniyabufi aisin *cese* de fiyan nonggibuha. Amba erdemu de urunaku gebu bahafi, colgorako algin algifi. Gu *dangse* de elden eldembuhe, ninju se-i tumen jalafun de eikinefi (?) Wang eldeke inenggi inu ede wesihun tukiyen tukiyefi, amba kooli gingguleme yabubumbi, uttu ofi gingguleme abka, na, mafari mukdehen, boihoju jekuju i mukdehen de alame wecefi, Badarangge Doro-i orici aniya jakun biya-i tofohon de, geren *wang* beile-se bithe coohai ambasa be gaifi, gingguleme abdangga iletulehen boobi be ibebufi, Jilan huturi top karmangga nelhe ujingge gengiyen sulfangga top unenggi jalafungga gunggecuke kobdon fengkin "wesihun taifin" *huwang taiheo* seme nonggiyeme wesihulehe!

"Wesihun" durun kemun de ujeleme ofi, abkai fejerjingge gosingga jalan-de erdemu-be hukshehe. "Taifin" doro bodogon de acaname ofi gupci baingge. Jilangga forgon de elden eldembuhe uttu ofi ambalinggu huturi-be alifi cohome kesi fulehun isibuki! Jabuci acara baita hacin-be amargide faidame araha :—

Emu hacin.—Jalan jalan-i huwangdi han (Khan) sai munggan i ba, *K'ung-dzŭ* i da susu i mukdehen, jai sunja

colhon duin bilten i jergi wecen de hafan tucibufi wececi acarangge-be, fe kooli songkoi deribume yabubu.

Emu hacin.—Jalan jalan-i hwangdi han sai munggan i ba de efujeme hwajabuhangge bici, harangga uheri-kadalara-amban, giyarime-dasara-ambasa, getukeleme wesimbufi yargiyan be kimcifi weileme dasata.

Emu hacin.—Yaya colhon colhoron mederi bilten juktehen i ba de shungkume ulejehengge bici harangga ba na i hafasa huda sisindefi (?) wesimbufi weileme dasadafi unenggi ginggiyen be iletulekini.

Emu hacin.—Goren goloi jugun doohan i siden-de efuleme huajabuha ba bici-be, na-i hafasa getukeleme bicifi weileme dasadafi, yabure feliyere de tusa arikini.

Emu hacin.—Dorgi de bisire tulergi de bisire geren *wang* ci fusihun *gung* se ci wesihun gemu kesi shangnaha bahabu.

Emu hacin.—Dorgi tulergi *gungcuci* fusihun hehe de isitala meimeni kesi shangnaha bahabu.

(7.) *Emu hacin.*—*Wang*-ni *fujin* ci fusihun kesi-be-tuwekiyara-janggin i sargan ci wesihun gemu kesi shangnaha bahabu.

Emu hacin.—Tulergi wang-ni fujin-ci fusihun gung-ni sargan-ci wesihun gemu kesi shangnaha bahabu.

Emu hacin.—Manju Nikan ambasa-i sargan ninju se-ci tubkangge be gemu kesi shangnaha bahabu.

Emu hacin.—Dorgi tulergi Manju Nikan bithe coohai ambakan buya hafasa de gemu emu jergi nonggi.

Emu hacin.—Dorgi tulergi ambakan buya geren hafasa-de ne bisire de fungnehen bahabureci tulgiyen, yaya jergi de wesike jai tushan de halahangge be ice jergi songkoi fungnehen bahabu.

(12.) *Emu hacin.*—Bithei hafan gemun hecen de bisire duici jergi ci wesihun, tulergi de bisire, ilaci jergi ci fusihun, coohai hafan, gemun de bicibe, tulergi de bicibe, jai jergi ci wesihun

ne tushan i jergi songkoi meimeni emu jui de fulehun i hafan bahabufi gurun-i-juse-huashabure-Yamun-de dosifi bithe hula.

Emu hacin.—Dorgi tulergi i bithei hafan, duici jergi ci fusihun, coohai hafan, ilaci jergi, ci fusihun, hafan efulefi, jergi wasibufi, tushan de bibuhe, jai fulun nakabuha, fulun faitaha, weile be oncodome guwebu.

Emu hafan; da susu de bisire tushan ci nakabuha, sholo baiha hafasa, gemun de jifi, urgun-i-doroi tumen-jalafun de jalbarirahangge be ajagolo(?) emgeri funguehe kooli bahabufi enculeme bahabure be baiburakuci tulgiyen, tere kemun de bisirengge be kesi isibume emu adali da jergi songkoi funguere be baisu.

Emu hacin.—Acalame simnere ton be dorolon i jurgan de afabufi nerginde niyalmai ton be getukeleme wesimbufi hese be baime acara be tuwame labdu gaiki; golotome simnere de amba golode gusin gebu nonggi; sirame golode orin gebu nonggi; ajige golo de yuwan gebu nonggi. Manju Monggu gusade ninggun gebu nonggi; ujen coohai gusa de ilan gebu nonggi.

Emu hacin.—*Jili* geren golo shusei gaire ton be amba taciku de nadan gebu nonggi; dulimbi taciku de sunja gebu nonggi; dulimbi taciku de sunja gebu nonggi; ajige taciku de ilan gebu nonggi.

Emu hacin.—Jakun gusa Manju Monggu ujen coohai gusai coohai urse jai dorgi jasak Kalka i jergi, Monggu urse de nadaju jakunju uyunju se ci wesihun ningge be, ilgame faksalame shangna; tanggu se isikangga be getukeleme wesimbufi camhan ilibure menggun bahabu.

Emu hacin.—Cooha irgen nadaju se ci wesihun ningge be, emhun juse ersheme ujihangge be buyarame hacin i alban takuran tucibure be baibunaku ubu; jakunju se ci wesihun ningge de emu defelinggu ceceri, emu ginggen kubun, emu hule bele, juwan ginggen yali bahabu. Vyunju se ci wesihun

ningge de ubui nonggi. Tanggu se isikangge be getukeleme wesimbufi camhan ilibure menggun bahabu.

Emu hacin.—*Taigiasa* de emu biya-i *caliyan* shangna.

Emu hacin.—Jakun gusai anggasi hese de acara be tuwame shangnaha gisurebu.

Emu hacin.—Geren ba i ujire kuwaran de bisirele gogin anggasi umutu emhun, jai jadahalaha alara be aku niyalma be geren ba-na i hafan de afabufi hacin be tulbifi erilime hwashabume ujibu beye tomoro ba-be ufarabuci ojoraku obu.

Emu hacin.—Hafan data cooha irgesa de, baita necirengge bici, hebesheme ubashatame fudarara juse omosi ini mafa mama ama eme be argai wara dolo facuhurara sargan asahan sargan eigen be wara, aha nehu ini boo-i da be bucere-weile waka, ilan niyalma wara; fulgiyan jui be jetune; niyalma be bukdara niyalmai ergen be argai-wara jortai-wara, umiyaha horon okto fadame bushuhulere, horon okto i niyalma be wara, ehe hulha, ganiongga gisun i jergi, juwan hacin i yargiyan i bucere weile be guweburakuci tulgiyen, coohai nas-hun de weile baha ukanju be gidaha, jai doosidame beyede singgebuhangge be inu guweberakuci tulgiyen: tereci gwa be ere aniya, aniya biyai ice i onggolo, emgeri tucinjihe tucinjiheku emgeri wacihiyaha wacihiyanaku be, gemu guwebume sinde.

Aya! Enteheme huturi imiyabufi doro bi...rengge (?) de, tumen-aniya otolo isibuha goidatala sabi ajabufi. Abka emu erdemu de aisilaha erebe abkai fejergi de ulhibume-selgiyefi bireme sakini sehe.

Badarangga-doro-i orici aniya, jakun biyai, juwan ninggun.

[The above contains certain regretted *lacunæ*, owing to the imperfect printing of a few words in the original Manchu, or owing to the inadequacy of the transcriber into European letters to the proper deciphering of them. The following translation from the *Chinese and the Manchu, is also, perhaps, not microscopically correct.*]

The *Hwangti*, appointed by the Grace of Heaven, decrees as follows:—I consider that in ruling *the Empire* (*Abkai fejergi*, or *T'ien hia*, "all under the sky") by the Sage's principle of *filial piety* (*hiao-shun*), reverential care of elders and nurturing and rearing of inferiors (wife, children, etc.), are both important. He who plays the part of King (Khan), a leader of the myriad people, sets an example (lays down a foundation, or principle), makes [his ancestors] illustrious and gives scope to his aspirations. Searching into ancient history, we find that by the domestic virtues of T'ai Jen, (太 任) the mother of Wen, first king of Chow,—virtues praised in the ancient Book of Odes,—was begun the loyal and substantial government of the kingdom of Chow [1122 B.C., in the "semi-historical period"]; and that by the virtues of Yu Sung, also celebrated in the Book of Odes, [second wife of Ti Kuh, legendary king, B.C. 2435], was begun the generous and humane *régime* of the state of Poh [ancient capital of the Emperor Kao-hing 高辛, B.C. 1766,—K'ao-ch'eng (考 城) in the Province of Honan]. Now as felicity beyond that of former Sovereigns is heaped up, with rejoicing the lofty record should be followed. Reverently I reflect that in virtue a peer of Heaven, and in conduct an equal of Earth [absurdities from the *Jijungge Nomun*, or *Yih King*] is the Empress JILAN HUTURI TOP KARMANGGA NELHE UJINGGA GINGGIYEN SULFANGGA TOP JALAFUNGGA GUNGGENCUKE KOBTON FENGKIN *Hwang Tai-heo*. Happiness dwells in her fragrant palace [*shunggiri*, the *lan*, sweet orchid beloved by the Chinese]. In her majestic age, her good fortune is like the Sun and Moon. Of the five felicities [longevity, wealth, quietness, virtue, a good end], longevity is the first. To prolong her life, long as the crane's, the red colour has been painted in the golden book (by the god of "the Southern

Dipper," who dispenses longevity, as he of the Northern gives death). Certainly great virtue will have fame. On this glorious occasion, in the jade-stone volume is noted the recurrence of an Imperial birth-day after 60 years of life; and reverentially carrying out the great precedents, I thank Heaven, Earth, the altars of my Ancestors, those of the spirits of Agriculture. On this 15th day of the 8th moon of the 20th year of the Reign *Badarangge Doro* [Reign *Kwang-sü*, September 14th, 1894] with the Imperial Princes, the Dukes (*beilese*) and the high officers (*ambans*) literary and military, I impress my precious seal on the list of the Hwang Tai-heo's names or titles [here given in full, as before], with the addition of the two honorific names WESIHUN and TAIFIN. "Wesihun" means giving importance to old models and precedents, and thus all under the sky will receive the merit of the humane family like that of Heaven. As for "Taifin," it means by uniting virtue with prudent planning, to shed on all people the light of a beneficent epoch, like that of the Sun. And thus I, having received these august favours, would diffuse bounty around, and the things which I have ordered to be done follow hereafter noted in due order:—

(1.) According to old custom, mandarins will proceed to offer sacrifices at the tombs of the Hwangtis or Khans of former generations; at the home of Confucius [in Shantung Province]; to the 5 Mountains; and to the 4 Rivers. (The 5 Mountains are T'ai-shan in Shantung, Hêng-shan in Hunan, Hwa-shan in Shensi, Heng-shan in Chihli, and Sung-shan in Honan, respectively called the East, South, West, North, and Middle, Mountains. Their names in Chinese characters are 泰, 衡, 華, 恒, and 嵩. The 4 Rivers are the Yangtsze; the Hwai; the Yellow River; and the Tsi, New Yellow River, or Tai-ts'ing Ho, in Shantung).

(2.) If the tombs of any of the Emperors are in ruins, the "Viceroy" and "Governor" of the Province will make enquiry, and report to the Emperor, and if the Report be true, the repairs will be made.

(3.) If the temples of any of the gods of hills, seas, or rivers, are in ruins, the local mandarins will report to the Emperor, with estimate of money required for repairs, as we would show true respect to these gods.

(4.) If any of the roads or bridges in any of the Provinces are in ruins, the local mandarins will enquire into the matter and make repairs; as we would benefit people travelling. *

(5.) Mandarins inside (*i.e.* at Peking), and outside, from below rank of *wang* (*regulus* or "prince"), and from above the rank of *kung* (5th rank in the hierarchy) will all have favours bestowed on them.

(6.) Inside (at Peking), and outside, from the *kung-chus* (Imperial princesses) downwards to *hehes*, all will have favours bestowed on them. [According to MAYERS, *kung-chu* is an Emperor's daughter, while *hehe* is a daughter of Imperial Princes of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th degree, and of "Imperial nobles" of 1st or 2nd degree.]

(7.) From wives of *wangs* downwards, and from the wives of *ên-fêng-tsiang-küns* upwards, all will have favours bestowed upon them. [According to ZAKHAROFF, the latter title—in Manchu *kesi-be tuwakiyara janggin*, "favoured General"—is a title of 14th rank bestowed on descendants of an Imperial family.]

(8.) Of foreign ladies (*tulergi*, 外藩 *wai-fan* of various Asiatic tribes), from *wangs*' wives downwards, and from *kungs*' wives upwards, all will receive favours.

* It is certain that no roads will, or were meant to, be made or repaired either.

(9.) Favours will be conferred on the wives of *ambans* (大臣, high mandarins), both Manchu and Chinese, if these ladies are over 60 years old.

(10.) Literary (civil) and military mandarins, great and small, both Manchu and Chinese, whether within (at Peking) or outside, shall be raised one degree of rank.

(11.) Great and small mandarins, whether at Peking or out of it, will receive, in addition to the title of honor corresponding to their various degrees of rank, a title of honor corresponding in each case to the higher or changed rank to which they were last appointed. [On these *titles of honor*, see MAYERS' *Chinese Government*, 1886 Edition, pp. 63 *et sequ.*].

(12.) Civil officials, at Peking, from the fourth rank upwards, outside Peking, from the third rank upwards; military officials, whether at Peking or outside, from the second rank upwards, according to their rank, may each have one son educated in the College of the Sons of the Country [MAYERS, "Imperial Academy of Learning," see *Chinese Government*, pp. 28, 76, 116].

(13.) Rehabilitation in their former position will be granted to Peking or outside Civil Mandarins from the fourth rank downwards, Military ones from the third rank downwards, who have been degraded in rank or deprived of it, while retained in office, or who have had their pay kept back or been fined of it.

(14.) Officials retired, or on leave, who have come from their native places to the Capital on this occasion of State rejoicing (*urgun-i doro*) to congratulate on this Birthday, if they have already received titles of honor, need receive no more; but all at the Capital except those, may ask for titles of honor in accordance with their old rank (their *da jergi*, or *yüan hien*).

(15.) Nominations to the *Tsin Shi* degree (third or "Doctor's" degree) will be increased in accordance with the suggestions in a Report to the Emperor which the Board of Ceremonies (*Dorolon-i Jurgan, Li Pu*) will make when the number of candidates is known. With regard to the Kü-jen degree ("licentiate"), in large Provinces 30 names will be added; in Provinces of the next class, 20 names; in small Provinces, 10 names; in Manchu and Mongol Banner divisions, 6 names; in Chinese banners, 3 names.

(16.) To the number of students entering colleges in the provinces [it is doubtful if anything resembling a college exists in China], in the case of great colleges 7 names are added, middle colleges 5 names, small colleges 3 names.

(17.) Amongst the soldiers of the Eight Banners, Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese, and Mongols under the home *jasaks* (*wangs*, or chiefs) and of the Kalkas, presents will be given to those above 70, 80, and 90 years of age, separately; and for those who have attained 100 years, the Emperor will be reported to, so that money be given them to build stone triumphal arches.

(18.) To soldiers or people, if 70 years old or more, shall be left one son to attend to and feed them, and this son may not be sent away on any miscellaneous petty Government errands or duties. To old people of 80 and upwards, shall be given one piece of silk *taffetas*, one *catty* ($1\frac{1}{3}$ lb.) of cotton, one *pecul* ($133\frac{1}{3}$ lbs.) of rice, and 10 lbs. of meat; to old people of 90 and upwards, double of the above; for old people of 100 and upwards, the Emperor will be reported to, so that money be given to them to build stone triumphal arches.

(19.) To the Eunuchs shall be given one month's extra pay.

(20.) The question of giving some present to the widows (*anggasi*) of men of the Eight Banners will be taken into consideration.

(21.) Care must be taken for the unmarried men, widows, men without sons, sons without fathers, and other resourceless classes, such as maimed or crippled persons fed at the various charitable establishments. The various local mandarins must see to the procuring of funds for the nourishing of these people, so that they may not be without *a place to live* (*beye tomoro ba*).

(22.) With the following exceptions, a general amnesty, or condonement, for all crimes or misdemeanours, committed by any person, whether mandarin, soldier, or others of all sorts and conditions, before the 1st day of this year (*i.e.* before 6th February 1894) whether discovered or not, dealt with or not, at that date.

The exceptions are :—The 10 heinous offences, which comprise: Treason, or revolt, high treason (or, *lèse-majesté*), unfilial sons or grandchildren plotting to kill a grandfather, grandmother, father, or mother, incest, killing of a husband by a wife or a concubine, of the head of a household by a male or female slave, killing of the head of a household not liable to the death punishment by *three persons* (*i.e.* by an adulterous wife, her paramour, and a hired assassin), eating a new-born child for one's health (*ts'ai shêng* 採生,—*fulgìyan jui be jetune*), mutilation of human beings for nefarious purposes, with malice or intentionally killing a person, poisoning with venomous worms, bewitching with sorceries, killing by drugs or poisons, highway robbery or piracy, baneful words (妖言 *yao yen*,—*ganiongga gisun*,—witchcraft?). For these heinous crimes the punishment is death, with no pardon. In addition are not entitled to benefit by the amnesty, the following persons :—Those who incur punishment by improper

conduct in war matters or on the field of battle, or by concealing or harbouring runaways; or who "squeeze" or take bribes from cupidity; none of these persons will be pardoned.

Ah! by constantly administering justice to you, after 10,000 years (on this jubilee (?)) happiness is diffused. Heaven helps the virtue of one (by the virtue of one?). This I would make known to the whole empire (all under Heaven). *Badarangga Doro*, or *Kwang Sü* (name of the present Emperor's *Reign*), 20th year, 8th moon, 16th day. [The Chinese version omits day of month, but adds "The Imperial SEAL" (*Hwang-Ti chï* PAO.)]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CRITICISM ON A WORK BY THE LATE CHINESE MINISTER TO RUSSIA.

The late Chinese Minister to Russia, WANG SHOH-T'ANG, has just published a book entitled "Sketch of My Mission to Russia," in which he makes certain strange statements touching the Catholic religion. To many of these the Chinese Catholics naturally take exception, and accordingly the Shanghai Catholic organ, the *Yih-wên-Luh*, animadverts as follows:—

1.—His Excellency states that after the Crucifixion Jesus came to life again in seven weeks.

European history, as well as the New Testament, not to mention the teachings of the Church, all record that Jesus came to life again three days after the Crucifixion: no one has ever heard that seven weeks elapsed, as every woman and child who is a Christian well knows. His Excellency, with his broad, unprejudiced mind, can easily ascertain the truth of this if he will deign to enquire into it again.

2.—He remarks that unconvicted criminals are preached to by priests in gaol, and that very often their minds are so affected by these exhortations that they offer to confess, without its being necessary to flog them into it.

This is indeed news, for no such thing ever occurred. His Excellency's imaginative powers are indeed active. Has any one ever heard of this in any European country?

3.—He says that the teaching of Jesus was mostly strange twaddle.

Now, the words of Jesus are accepted by all right-minded Europeans as a guide to what is just. When His Excellency

describes them as strange twaddle, he only illustrates how men's tastes can differ,—unless it be that his view is one which no right-minded man could take.

4.—He says that enquiry into Jesus' acts whilst living proves that He was nothing more than a physician; that His adherence to the Mosaical Sabbath was simply the "seven days come back" [of the ancient Chinese Book of Changes]; that his holding the Cross in order to cure sickness was simply the "crossing over the meridian" of our Chou Dynasty Ceremonial, etc. etc.

That Jesus' acts during his lifetime were only those of a physician is a discovery made for the first time by His Excellency. It is true that Jesus did during his lifetime cure men's diseases, raise persons from the dead: as, for instance, in the instances of curing those blind from their birth, raising the palsied, cleansing the lepers, restoring hearing and speech to the deaf or dumb; in raising Lazarus to life after being dead four days, and the widow's son on the way to the grave. In performing these and other miracles, however, Jesus made use of God's omnipotence, employing neither drug, scalpel, nor bistoury. Was ever mortal man known to heal in this fashion? Could any human physician restore dead men to life and clothe bleached bones with flesh? Again, as to the Cross, this was the instrument of Jesus' sufferings, as is perfectly well known to all countries, without the slightest possibility of doubt. How fallacious, then, of His Excellency to state that Jesus cured diseases with it!

5.—He says that the alleged "Heaven and Hell" are probably inventions of the Pope's, in order to deceive Europeans and drive their contributions into his coffers.

Supposing this were true, are all Europeans noodles? Are their capacities all so much below that of the envoy that they should be thus humbugged? Or, to put it another way. Granted that governments have punishments and rewards: does it follow, then, that mandarins invent these in order to deceive the people and frighten them into contributing largely to the official coffers? Will the envoy allow this, or not?

6.—He says that the "resurrection after *seven* days," the creation of Heaven, Earth, and living things, etc., is all a false pretence of supernatural power on the part of the priests with a view to coaxing the silly people's money out of them.

Now, the creation of Heaven, Earth, and living things is all recorded in the tomes of history, and substantiated by evidence. The Holy Scriptures are at every one's command. Is His Excellency ignorant of the existence of these historical tomes, that he makes these wild and absurd statements? Supposing we were to say that Confucianists, in talking of benevolence and right, that official instructors in preaching truth and good-will, were simply inventing in order to wheedle the silly people's money out of them? Would His Excellency approve of such language?

7.—He says that England developed under a foreign religion, and that afterwards the King married a Queen whose being such whilst the other was living was disapproved by the priests; that the King paid no attention; and that the priests proceeded to capture the Queen and disfigure her face with hot irons, so that she died.

It is impossible to say whence this story was derived. His Excellency has heard something no one ever heard of before, and relates something no one ever related before: it is simply a malicious invention.

8.—He says that the French hold the death of Jesus to have occurred on the first Sunday after the first full moon succeeding the spring equinox, and that Jesus came to life again seven days, or the next Sunday, after that, on a day which they call the *Pâque* Feast, when the whole population seems to go almost crazy. "Altogether too much, this superstition of the western men," says he.

Now he had already stated once before that Jesus came to life again seven weeks after the Crucifixion: in this instance he contradicts himself by putting it at seven days. We would suggest that the envoy might take the trouble to inform himself better. Moreover, it is a legitimate subject for rejoicing when the dead come to life again. If it is crazy superstition on the part of

the western men to hold great rejoicings in celebration of Jesus' coming to life again, what is *not* crazy superstition?

9.—He talks of the allegation that the Pope speaks the decrees of Heaven; and says that once a word passes his lips no one dare contradict it, whether it ordain the assassination of one's prince, the corruption of the laws, or any other of a thousand possible offences.

This also is a mere invention.

10.—He says that the books or testaments upon the Faith established by Jesus number only six, and that children of both sexes are all taught the alphabet and spelling, the geography of the five continents, and arithmetic. All books studied beyond these must be the books of Jesus.

If His Excellency would only closely reflect upon the purport of these statements of his, he would perceive his own error. The spelling, geography and arithmetic books are on a par with the copy-books, horn-books, and history primers of Chinese boys. Would not His Excellency sneer if we were to describe these as "books upon the Faith established by Confucius"?

11.—He says that the books of Jesus have not much sense in them.

The books of Jesus are published far and near, and the most learned men of all countries have a difficulty in reaching the bottom of their profound doctrines. When His Excellency says that they have not much sense in them, he exalts his own knowledge above that of ordinary men.

12.—He says that the western religions have borrowed the Buddhist doctrine of Heaven and Hell, etc. etc.

Thousands of years before Buddha ever existed the doctrine of Heaven and Hell had been preached. His Excellency, though versed in ancient and modern history, is yet so ignorant of this fact that he states the western religions to have borrowed the notion from Buddhism. Then, according to this, the books of one's ancestors can be borrowed from those ancestors' descendants?

13.—He says: "Hence, last year one of the Christian cabal in France even went so far as to assassinate the President."

The newspapers of all countries have stated with one accord that the President in question was assassinated by an Italian malefactor. We suppose that, amid his multifarious official duties, His Excellency has not found time to read about it.

Translated by E. H. PARKER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SHANGHAI, *22nd March 1898.*

A. VOSY-BOURBON, Esq., Ph.I.P.E., P.H., etc., etc.
Hon. Curator, Shanghai Museum.

DEAR SIR,

Herewith I send you, for the Museum, some implements of war and the chase, manufactured by members of the Binghi Tribe, which inhabits the North-western coast of Australia from Cape La Touche Treville to the Buccaneer Archipelago. The tribe has as yet had very little intercourse with Europeans, and their ceremonies, of which I am one of the very few white witnesses, are interesting and peculiar. It must be remembered that no metal has touched the specimens I send you: they have been cut from the log by chipped flints only, and a test of the hardness of the wood will give some idea of the labour expended in their manufacture.

The women of the tribe act as inciters to fight, beating the ground about the feet of the warriors and urging them on with shrill yells. The battle once started, the women find employment in picking up the fallen spears, kylies and wockaburras, and handing them to the warriors, in so doing exposing themselves where weapons are flying as thick as a flock of duck.—Yet, though I have seen several pitched battles, I have never seen a woman hit in one of them.

After initiation as a warrior (a most gruesome ceremony, which few white men have seen or would care to see) the young men are, amongst other privileges, entitled to eat the ant-hill of the white ant, the earth composing it being supposed to possess sustaining and invigorating properties. They also lay this earth in cuts which they make in their bodies, so that, the skin having again united, ridges are formed on the surface.

I regret that a large portion of my collection was destroyed by fire a few years ago.

Requesting you to have the goodness to acknowledge receipt,

Yours faithfully,

A. L. ANDERSON.

9 *Kylies.*—These are smaller than, but take the place of, the boomerangs of the Eastern tribes. The Binghis are however much more expert with their weapon than their Eastern brethren, throwing the kylie to incredible distances or heights, or making it describe any number of curves in any direction.

6 *Wockaburras.*—Throwing sticks, with which, light as they seem, an arm-bone may be broken at 50 yards. They are thrown with a peculiar jerk which causes them to revolve about their middle, making a sound as of a pigeon getting up.

6 *Carmion.*—Shields. They are held by two fingers only and are used as a shelter from kylies and wockaburras: at close-quarter fighting they are discarded.

1 *Waddy.*—The same name as that given by Eastern tribes. This is used for hand-to-hand fighting, or to finish a speared kangaroo. The specimen I send was acquired by me about two minutes after a man's head had been beaten to a pulp with it.

4 *Full Dress Costumes* of a Kouri, or marriageable girl, consisting of a mother-of-pearl shell suspended from a rope or girdle of her own hair.

1 *Small Piece of Mother-of-pearl Shell,* used to excite counter irritation in sickness.

31, Bund,

Shanghai, March 6th, 1897.

Dear Sir,

I have brought back from Szechuen a few specimens of the bricks said to have been made by the Miautze, or aborigines of China, and they are now in my office verandah.

Should your Society care to select one or two of these bricks, I shall be happy to give them to you, and if you or any of your friends interested in such subjects would like to see those I have got, I shall be delighted to show them to anyone calling at my office.

Yours truly,

HENRY GRIBBLE.

Revd. E. T. Williams,

Hon. Secretary,

China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

10th March.

Dear Mr. Williams,

The bricks come from Ta Chang (now known as Sin Tan or the New Rapids) in the prefecture of Yun Yang, some 50 miles above Kwei-chau Fu.

Yours truly,

HENRY GRIBBLE.

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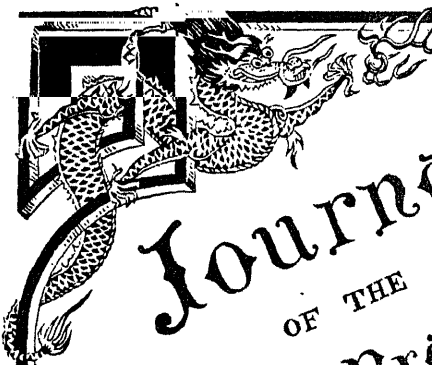
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1. Every paper which it is proposed to communicate to the Society shall be forwarded to the Hon. Secretary for the approval of the Council.

2. When the Council shall have accepted a paper, they shall decide whether it shall be read before the Society and published in the Journal, or read only and not published, or published only and not read. The Council's decision shall in each case be communicated to the author after the meeting.

3. The Council may permit a paper written by a non-member to be read and, if approved, published.

4. In the absence of the author, a paper may be read by any member of the Society appointed by the Chairman or nominated by the author.

5. No paper read before the Society shall be published elsewhere than in the Journal, without the permission of the Council, or unless the Council decide against publishing it in the Journal.

6. All communications intended for publication by the Society shall be clearly written on one side of the paper only, with proper references, and in all respects in fit condition for being at once placed in the printers' hands.

7. The authors of papers and contributors to the Journal are solely responsible for the facts stated and opinions expressed in their communications.

8. In order to insure a correct report, the Council request that each paper be accompanied by a short abstract for newspaper publication.

9. The author of any paper which the Council has decided to publish will be presented with fifty copies; and he shall be permitted to have extra copies printed on making application to the Hon. Secretary at the time of forwarding the paper, and on paying the cost of such copies.

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PREFACE TO SUPPLEMENTARY CATALOGUE.

The unsatisfactory condition into which, owing to various circumstances, the Library of the Society had fallen during the last few years, and the bad arrangement of the volumes, and the fact that for some time the whole was under the care of an untrained Chinese assistant, involved the task of making an entire change in the arrangement and the taking of a new inventory. A certain number of the volumes on inspection were found missing; fortunately the number was not very large. It is, however, urgently requested that any member who has taken away books and failed to record the fact, will be good enough to notify the same and return any volumes which may be in his possession.

Mr. HA, the present Assistant, has instructions to see that no repetition takes place.

Since the publication of the last Catalogue by the late Mr. JOSEPH HAAS, late Consul General for Austro-Hungary, and for many years Hon. Librarian of this Society, a good many works and periodicals have been added; they mostly consist of presentations and exchanges, and for these the Council expresses its thanks. It hopes that in the future Authors and Publishers will make it their aim that this, the most important collection of works bearing on Eastern Asia, be kept supplied with all new Publications of interest and importance bearing on Far-Eastern topics.

Referring to Part II "Additions to the Catalogue of this Library," it will fall to the care of my successor to look after the subdivision of same, as also the reading of the proofs of that Part of the Manuscript, comprising the works connected with the Department of the Museum. These were compiled by the late Mr. HAAS, and have been handed over to the Printers, Messrs. KELLY and WALSH, Limited.

The Third Section of the Catalogue, referring to "Books and Works other than Eastern," remains to be compiled at a later time.

EMIL S. FISCHER,
Hon. Librarian.

CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
30th August 1898.

CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[*Founded 1857.*]

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VI.—CATALOGUE, *Part III, Books and Works added to the Library, on subjects not relating to China.* [To be prepared]

China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

I.

RULES

FOR THE

ISSUE OF BOOKS FROM THE LIBRARY.

I.—The Library is open daily from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. during the months of October, November, December, January, February and March, and from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. during the months of April, May, June, July, August and September, Sundays and holidays excepted.

II.—The circulation of the books is under the control of the Council of the Society.

III.—Books are issued by the Hon. Librarian or his Assistant. Members are not allowed to pass them from one to another, nor to lend them to non-members.

IV.—Members are not to have more than *three* works at a time, nor keep any books longer than 21 days.

V.—Works of reference and certain rare and valuable books are not to be taken out of the Library building, *nor are Scientific Journals and Periodicals* circulated until the volumes are completed and bound.

VI.—When the time allowed for the perusal of a work has expired, it must be returned to the Library within 24 hours after the receipt of a notice that it is required at the Library, or a fine of half a dollar per day will be exacted.

VII.—Members are responsible for the careful preservation and safe return of all books issued to them, and they will be required to make good any loss or damage in these respects.

VIII.—If a work or any portion of it should be lost or damaged, defaced by writing or otherwise injured, the member to whom it was issued will be responsible for its whole cost, whatever that may be.

IX.—The infraction of any of these Rules will be followed by the withdrawal from a member of his privilege of taking books out of the Library, and the payment of all penalties or other amounts due will be enforced in any way that may be thought fit.

X.—The Council of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society may at any time call in all books and may cease to issue them for such periods as the interests of the Society may require.

For the purposes of Rules IV and VI, each volume of the Transactions of any Learned Society or similar publication shall be counted as one work, but under Rule VIII a Member may be called upon to replace a whole series unless the volumes can be obtained separately.

II.

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1308. The Doctrines of Nichiren, with a Sketch of his Life.
Compiled by the Right Virtuous Abbot Kobayashi, President of the *Nichiren College, Takanawa, Tokyo. Kelly & Walsh, lim.* 1893, sm. 4to.

1309. Statistics of the Kuldja Province for the years 1871-1877.
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III.

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NEWSPAPER EXCHANGES.

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„ „ "Shanghai Mercury," „

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INSCRIPTIONS DE L'ORKHON.

Déchiffrées par VILH. THOMSEN,

Professeur de Philologie comparée à l'Université de Copenhague.

By E. H. PARKER.

WE have already elsewhere* on a previous occasion noticed the first part of this work comprising pages 5 to 54, published in 1894; as Professor Thomsen informs us in his "Remarques Finales" at the end of the present volume. The preparation of the remainder has been unavoidably delayed through the accident of his illness. The parts which we now have before us embrace the "Transcription et traduction des textes (Monuments I et II);" the "Introduction;" the word for word romanised transcription, with translations, of each separate face of each of the two Monuments; Notes; Additions and Rectifications; Analytical Index; Turkish Lexicon; Turkish Grammar; a new English translation of Monument I; and the above-mentioned "Remarques Finales," justifying his own views on certain open points.

As Professor Thomsen justly reminds us in his Introduction, the Chinese histories are much better authorities upon the early Turks than the Byzantine authors, such as Menander Protector and Theophylactus Simocatta. In presenting us with a sketch of Turkish history from the Chinese point of view, Dr. Thomsen follows mainly the memoir upon the subject published by the late Stanislas Julien. The Turks lived in felt tents, led a nomadic life, and

* *The Academy* (7 Dec. 1895) and *The Eng. Hist. Review* (July 1896).

generally had manners and customs which correspond to the Tartar life of to-day as seen in the Mongols, and also to the description given us of the ancient Huns of Europe, the Hiung-nu of early China, and the modern Kirghiz of the Russian steppes.[1] Dr. Thomsen frankly tells us that he has had to take his Chinese translations second-hand, and therefore we need not be surprised to find that he has been led into repeating a few errors which the light of the recently discovered inscriptions enables us once more to expose. Thus the chief officers of the Turks included what translators call the *Ye-poou*, *Bout*, *Tik-k'in*, *Sou-li-pat*, and *To-toun-pat*. In justice to Julien, however, it must be stated that whilst he is the chief authority for the Chinese narrative, the above forms are not his own, but those amended by M. Gustave Schlegel, Professor of Chinese at the Leyden University. *Yep-hu* (not *Ye-pou*), which the Chinese themselves tell us to call *Ziep-hu*, turns out to be the Turkish word *jabgu*, a title applied to the different Viceroys or Cæsars—so to speak—who ruled as "satraps of the blood" under the Supreme Khan. *Bout* is a misreading of the Chinese, and should be *Shet:* as yet the word has not been satisfactorily identified with any Turkish form. *Tik-k'in* is the Turkish *Tägin*, as is amply proved by the Orkhon inscriptions. M. Dévéria of Paris had, however, already several years ago satisfactorily proved this in a journal called the *T'oung Paou*. Owing to faulty Chinese printing, most sinologists have hitherto read *te-le;* and even such excellent authorities as the late Archimandrite Palladius of Peking have thus been misled into identifying it with a supposed Mongol word *dere*. *Sou-li-pat* (an error for *K'i-li-pat*) stands for some such sound as *djirifal;* the remaining word has not yet been identified at all.

The next point is the original locality of the rising Turkish power when first the name Türk (meaning "helmet")

was taken as a political designation towards the middle of the sixth century. The bold generalisations of de Guignes have here again propagated error far and wide. Nothing could be more positive than the Chinese reiterated statement that the Ordous and Etznai region, north-east of Kokonor, was the original site of the Turkish encampment; true, their power afterwards extended to the Altaï, and it may well have been there that Zemarchus, the ambassador of Justin, was received by the Khan Dizaboul (probably meaning "the *Zabgu Di*"—either a numeral or a name in A.D. 568); but, apart from the fact that the Ektag Mountains of Menander is at the present time, according to Dr. Thomsen, unknown in the region of the Altaï, there is every reason to suppose on other and more specific grounds that quite another neighbourhood was meant, which further research will perhaps enable us in time to identify.

The Manchus may be reasonably supposed to know as well as any one to what race they themselves belong. Previous to their conquest of China, they amalgamated all the tribes belonging to their own stock, and came to the conclusion that the Tungusic Solons of the Amour River, as they are now still called, were the true lineal representatives of the former Khitans or Cathayans, who ruled North China for several centuries, until close upon Marco Polo's time. Yet, in describing the conquests of the Turkish Khan Mokan —whose names and titles have been severely mauled by successive translators—Dr. Thomsen still expresses doubts whether the Khitans were not of Mongol race, as though, if such had been the case, the Mongols, when they became great, would not have eagerly claimed descent from renowned ancestors who for centuries drew humble tribute from China. The tribe of *Mung-wa* is certainly mentioned amongst the most northerly races of Khitan stock; but, even if the one

name of an obscure tribe only *affiliated* to the Khitan were enough to made Mongols of that tribe, and again through it of all the Khitans, we are distinctly told by the Chinese that the language of these northerly races was much the same as that of Tungusic tribes, who have since been proved to be the ancestors of the Manchus. Moreover, is it known yet what exactly was and is the "Mongol race," *i.e.* what is its true relation to the Turkish race, and what ancient tribe mentioned in Chinese history does it lineally represent?

It is highly probable, as we have foreshadowed above, that the Dizaboul of the Byzantines was not the Supreme Khan Mokan at all, though it is quite certain that Zemarchus' interview with him in 569 took place during Mokan's reign, which lasted from 553 to 572. Dr. Thomsen, following de Guignes, assumes that the Tápdor of the Greeks was the Turkish Khan *Tat-t'ou;* but neither he nor de Guignes assists us by specifying what the Byzantines said about Tardou, or what his rank was. The Chinese statements are very positive, but they too are insufficient: still, it is possible to supply the hiatuses by necessary consequence. Thus, we are told that *Tat-t'ou* (a name which numerous Chinese precedents justify us in assuming to have represented the sound Tar-du) was uncle of the fifth Khan Shapuro (son of the second Khan Isiki, son of the first Khan Tumen), who was nephew of the fourth Khan Tapur. It thus follows almost of necessity that Tardou was a son of Tumen. The Chinese also tell us that Tardou, when he usurped the Supreme Khanship in A.D. 599, *had been* "Khan of the Western side" and *had arrogated* to himself the title of Buka Khan. We are therefore inclined to connect this Chinese title of Buka and the Chinese-Turkish *tägin* with Abulghazi's "Butakin, grandson through Zagsu of Tumana." The Chinese themselves tell us that Tardou's successor in the

west—for his pretensions to the Supreme Khanship were soon defeated—was Nili, son of Yangsu, son of Tumen. It is fair therefore to assume that the Dizabul whom Zemarchus met was the *zabu* or *jabghu* (*i.e.* the viceroy) of the west, under his brother, or possibly his uncle, Mokan, and that this viceroy was either Tardou himself, or a son or nephew of Tardou bearing the title of *tägin*. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that Tardou's grandson subsequently reigned in the west from A.D. 619 with the title of *t'ung jabgu*, the Chinese word *t'ung* meaning "general" or "suzerain," and here most probably not standing for any Turkish word. Again in 580, during the reign of the fourth Khan, we find a Chinese author actually mentioning Tardou as a menacing rival of the Supreme Khan (his brother) Tapo: it is surely therefore not unreasonable to suppose that he was equally menacing under the other brother Mokan in 569, and that it was he, and he alone, who had relations with Constantinople and Persia. It may be here mentioned that the Chinese are inconsistent touching the relationship of Mokan to his father Tumen, as they in at least one place call him "younger brother" and not "son."

After innumerable wars and intrigues, the Turkish Empire was at last broken up by the Chinese in A.D 630, when the twelfth Khan Hiet-li, or Gheri, was taken prisoner. However, the new Chinese system of native Turk Governorships did not last long. In 681 Kutlug, a descendant of Gheri, and it seems himself son of another Kutlug, once more proclaimed himself independent Khan. In 690 or 691 he was succeeded by his brother Me-chuc or Mörchör—the Turkish sounds intended being of course mere suggestions where they are not found in the Turkish texts. Under Mörchör the Turkish Empire became almost as extensive and formidable as it had been under Mokan and Gheri. For

services rendered to China, he received the title of *Li-kung-pao-kwo*, or, "he who has rendered service to and shewn gratitude to the Empire,"—a designation somewhat mutilated by Dr. Thomsen, owing, as usual, to his translators' inaccuracies. But Mörchör soon fell out with China. The appointment of his son as "little Khan" over Kutlug's son and his own brother, who were respectively Viceroys of the west and east, each commanding an army, shows once more how easily Dizabul might have been mistaken by the Byzantine for Supreme Khan, just as, seven centuries later, Rubruquis found Sartuk and his father Batu settled in Russia in quasi-independence, nominally under the Supreme Khan reigning at Karakorum. The wars which Mörchör carried on with his neighbours enable us to identify the words Turgäs and Karluk in their Chinese disguises, and after the fall of the Western Turkish family of Asena, these Turgäs and Karluks secured the Khanship. In the end, after a successful campaign against the Bajirku (? Baikals) of the Tula River, Mörchör was killed in A.D. 716, and his head was sent as a trophy to China. The Eastern Asena family was at last conquered by the Ouigours.

Before, however, the Turkish Empire of the eastern Asena branch fell a prey to the rising Ouigour power, it enjoyed a season of great prosperity under Kutlug's son Mogilan or Megiklen, successor of Mörchör, and known also as the "little Shah," and the "Bilga Khan," or "Wise Khan." Mogilan owed his throne entirely to the efforts of his younger brother the *tegin* Kül, upon whom he conferred the ancient Hiung-nu title of "Cæsar of the east," in Turkish "Left *Doghri*," in Chinese "Left Worthy Prince." The most important and complete of the discoveries recently made on the Orkhon is the original stone tablet put up to the memory of the great and doughty Prince Kül by

order of the Chinese Emperor. This tablet is still in a state of almost perfect preservation, and, the Chinese inscription being perfectly legible, it followed that if any frequently recurring Turkish letters could be made to correspond with the Chinese characters for "Türk" and "Kül Tegin," the key to the whole Turkish epic would be discovered. Copies of the whole were at once sent to Europe, and in due course the above-mentioned key was first assumed, then discovered, and finally applied by Professor Thomsen, who at last came to the conclusion that the Turkish alphabet was remotely derived from some form of the Aramæan. The Russian Academician Dr. Radloff, a profound Turkish scholar, next proceeded to apply the principle thus discovered by Professor Thomsen to the decipherment of all the other inscriptions, most of which unfortunately were badly mutilated. Dr. Thomsen meanwhile was prevented by illness from keeping pace with Dr. Radloff, who, in 1894 and 1895, published his excellent translations and glossary. The present work by Dr. Thomsen reviews as it proceeds the work of Dr. Radloff; it also furnishes one or two new translations of the Chinese texts, and supplies us with a number of exegetical notes in elucidation of the whole matter.

The above indicates some of the essential features of the sketch of Turkish history given to us from Chinese sources by Professor Thomsen, and necessary for the better understanding of our subject. As we have previously remarked, Professor Thomsen, whilst quite competent to check the accuracy of individual Chinese words, frankly acknowledges that for his translations in this department he has had to depend upon the work of others. Hence we find such inaccuracies as "*the* Shen-yu"[2] (an ancient Hiung-nu title) instead of a city or province also *called* Shen-yu; "poisoned by Mei-lou-tch'ouc," instead of "by *the mei-lou* Tch'ouc"

(?=Chör), this being a title common to the Ouigours, Kirghiz and Turks; indeed, as we shall see further on, *tch'oue* or *chue* was also a title; "the Ambassador Ho-ling-thsioner" for "sent Ho-ling-thsiouen"; and numerous other little errors such as the extreme care and caution of Dr. Thomsen in other departments leads us to believe he would have avoided had he been in a position to go carefully over the original Chinese himself.

Professor Thomsen next proceeds to give us an account of the interesting monuments as they were found. Reduced facsimiles have already been published by the Finno-Ougrian Society of Helsingfors and by the Russian Academy on behalf of Dr. Radloff, in two magnificent albums, which appeared in 1892. The Turkish inscriptions are much more voluminous than the Chinese, and themselves tell us that they were cut into the stone by the practised Chinese handicraftsmen who had been sent to the Orkhon region by the Chinese Emperor to engrave the Chinese characters. One of the first translations of the Chinese inscription in honour of Kül *tegin*, made by the late M. von der Gabelentz of Berlin, was considerably improved upon in 1892 by Professor Schlegel of Leyden. Professor Thomsen now publishes as an addendum an entirely new English translation, which again slightly modifies that of Schlegel.

When we say that the singular Turkish inscription on the first monument in honour of Kül *tegin* alone contains more than 10,000 characters or syllables, and that the second, in honour of Mogilan, contained, when complete, still more, it will easily be understood that matter sufficiently extensive to fill the pages of a small weekly periodical, and introducing to us an entirely new alphabet and style of thought must be of surpassing interest. In the first the Khan gives us a short *résumé* of anterior Turkish history, and then proceeds to

recount in detail the exploits of his brave brother : a singular peculiarity being the great importance apparently attached to the names and pedigrees of the war-horses ridden. Though the carving of the letters was done by Chinese workmen, we are told that Yollig *tegin*, brother or cousin of Kül and Mogilan, was actually the one who composed certain portions of the epic. As to which part is the prologue and which the epilogue, which portions emanate from Bilga Khan and which from Yollig, these are technical points upon which Drs. Thomsen and Radloff in some cases differ, but which are altogether too technical for us to pronounce upon. Monument No. 2 repeats a great deal of what is said in No. 1 so far as Bilga Khan himself is concerned, but in the former, Kül *tegin's* doughty deeds are entirely omitted from the narrative, and the younger prince is not so much as even mentioned. It is especially unfortunate that so much of the second Turkish inscription is mutilated, for mention is made in it of exactly the same events as are recorded in Chinese history, and it would have been exceedingly interesting to have further confirmation of statements which, though there is no reason to doubt their accuracy in any point, of course become additionally clear and convincing when put in other language and contexts. It often happens that a turn or expression susceptible of a double meaning in either Chinese or Turkish when alone, at once crystallises into an absolute one when the two languages stand side by side. Regarding the general interpretation of the Turkish inscriptions, Dr. Thomsen points out, as he is fairly entitled to do, that there is a profound difference in principle between the method followed by himself and that pursued by Dr. Radloff, whether it be as to the accuracy of the readings, as to the pains taken to consult all available versions of the original Turkish texts, or as to the proper plan to follow in submitting a transcription.

Dr. Radloff, who in the opinion of Dr. Thomsen occasionally follows too closely the modern Turkish dialects of the north, has in the savant's opinion been led to treat this last point somewhat arbitrarily, and thus to give an incorrect idea of the true language of the inscriptions : consequently, as might be expected, the real bearing and the interpretation of the historical details do not receive at Dr. Radloff's hands that full measure of justice to which Dr. Thomsen's more deliberate methods consider them entitled. In short (if a popular simile may be applied to two such distinguished savants), it has been a race between the hare and the tortoise, each arriving at much the same goal in the end, but the hare, in process of bounding, doubling, and scampering along, leaving many indications of hot haste in overcoming obstacles for the cautious tortoise to medidate upon and avail himself of at leisure; naturally, in careful detail, the tortoise must necessarily often appear to have advantage of the hare.

Dr. Thomsen also makes certain prudent reservations regarding the precise date of the inscription. There can be little doubt that the Chinese histories, when carefully studied dynasty by dynasty, in those chapters which relate to their own and foreign calendars, will throw considerable light upon this question; but meanwhile it may be fairly held open to doubt, whether the Turks, in a certain measure, made use of the Chinese calendar, meant a lunar year, the complete years of a given Khan's age, the year following the completion of such sum of years, or what not, in cases where a definite date is assigned to a given event ; these doubts of course generally arise in connection with the winter and spring time, when the difference between the beginnings of lunar and solar years must necessarily occur. It is, however, interesting to note that out of five instances where the year of the Khan's age and also that of his brother Kül is mentioned, the former in

four cases is distinctly shown to have been one year older than the latter: in one single instance the difference is two years; but this is just the point when, owing to one of the two men having been born in a certain month, that particular month might come after the completion say of the 30th year of the one and before the completion of the 31st year of the other; or *vice versâ*. It may be interesting to note here a peculiarity in Chinese chronology which enables us, once given the requisite pains to find it out—to discover the precise Gregorian date of any event of which the cyclic year, moon, and day are furnished. Every one of the sixty cyclic signs must occur at intervals of 60 years, or days, and therefore when any man's age is given in cyclic language, the subject must be either 71 or 11 years of age; the day must either be the 3rd of the ides or 60 days earlier or later; the moon is of course on a somewhat different footing, as there are only twelve moons in each year, notwithstanding this, however, the intercalary thirteenth moon never causes any confusion, as it simply counts as the shadow of the moon which preceded it, just as our 29th of February makes no legal difference in the case of events falling on that day.

It must be recollected also that a greater interest than usual attaches to these Turkish inscriptions, apart from the fact of their being about the earliest of their kind in existence, on account of their being, as Dr. Thomsen expresses it, "Vierges encore de toute souffle du monde mahométan." The Khan Mogilan died in A.D. 734: Ziyád, brother of the Caliph Omayya b. Abi Sofyan, only crossed the Oxus to attack the Western Turks in A.D. 676. This was during the reign of the Eastern Khan Mörchör (uncle of Mogilan), who had at that date little or nothing to do with the Western Turks. These had then for some years been in a state of anarchy, nominally under Chinese Viceroys or native

Viceroys owing allegiance to China. In A.D. 703 the Western Khan Hien had to take refuge in China on account of Mörchör's encroachments, which continued up to the fall of his kinsmen, the Asena family in the west, and the rise in their place of the Turgäs branch of Turks. In A.D. 730 we hear of Turgäs and Turkish envoys struggling for precedence at the Chinese court; and, as Mörchör died in A.D. 716, it is evident that, even supposing the Turgäs of Issikul were in any way under Mussulman influence, such influence could not have in any way affected the bloodthirsty Mörchör, who was the common enemy of both Turgäs and Chinese. Kotaiba, general of the Caliph Walid I in Transoxiana, is believed to have carried his successful arms up to the Chinese frontier early in the 8th century; but Kotaiba was murdered in A.D. 714. Between A.D. 720 and 723 Maslama, General of the Caliph Yazid II, conducted expeditions against Ferghana and the Khozars of Armenia: the latter are specifically mentioned by the Chinese as being a Western Turkish tribe. Under the Caliph Hisham, who died in A.D. 743, decay had already set in, and the family of Omayya was shortly after supplanted by the Abbasids. M. Gabriel Déveria, in his *Histoire de l'Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine*, informs us that the Persians rejected in 628 the yoke of the Western Turks, and that Yezdejerd III had to take to flight, in the course of which he was killed by the Arabs, whilst his son Pirouz III succeeded in reaching China *viâ* Tokharistan. The Chinese Emperor, though ready to grant him asylum, had no desire to embroil himself with the Arabs, and in the year 651, received favourably a mission sent to him by the Emir al Momenin Othman. In 661 the the Chinese Emperor sent to the west a mission charged with the duty of transforming into Chinese prefectures the whole country between Khotan and Persia. Pirouz himself was

made Administrator. In 670, however, Pirouz (and it seems his son) had once more to seek refuge at the Chinese court, where he was allowed to build a temple of his own religion. In 678 another attempt was made to establish Pirouz or his son upon the Persian throne, but nothing came of it. These details are simply given here to make quite clear what Professor Thomsen asserts, namely, that with both Persians and Western Turks under Chinese influence, it is quite safe to suppose that the Eastern or Northern Turks, who were separated from the Arabs by these two nations, could hardly have been yet even indirectly affected by the Mussulman propaganda.

We may well quote in original a few of Professor Thomsen's own words regarding the style of the incriptions :—

"Comme trait typique . . . il faut surtout signaler la "figure . . . qui consiste à exprimer la même idée en deux "phrases coordonées . . . sous forme d'antithèse. Non "seulement cette figure donne au style un cachet tout par- "ticulier de force et de charme, mais . . . elle se présente "également à nous comme un auxiliaire extrêmement "important relativement à la juste intelligence de beaucoup "de passages . . . Si nous y ajoutons encore que bon nombre "des métaphores . . . se retrouvent aujourd'hui même dans "la poésie populaire de diverses tribus turques, . . . tout ceci "vient se resumer une impression tout à fait à part que "laissent ces anciennes inscriptions. On dirait presque de "lointains échos d'une épopée nationale, tour à tour triom- "phants et pleins d'une douloureuse tristesse, qui viendraient "nous frapper, émanant de ces pierres moussues dans "lesquelles la voix se ranime aujourd'hui !"

Our space will not allow of a close examination into all the points of difference between Dr. Radloff and Dr. Thomsen ; but we may indicate one or two here and there. In the

opening sentences of Monument I the Khan speaks of the Turkish Empire as extending from the Kadirkan Mountains on the East to the Iron Gate on the West. Professor Radloff reads *Kadarkan*, and takes it to be an ordinary adjective, meaning "wooded." There can be no question that the Iron Gate is not the one of that name at Derband on the Caspian, but the one near Samarcand, ten English miles, or, according to Dr. Thomsen's citation, sixty-three English miles, south-east of the city of Kash. The question raised by Dr. Thomsen whether the word *idioksis* can refer to the division of the Turks into so many "arrows" or tribes, is certainly an interesting one; but it must be pointed out that the use of the word "arrows" in the sense of "tribal division" is only mentioned by the Chinese as having been in use among the later Western Turks. Such points as these, however, cannot be expected to deeply interest the general reader, and can in fact only secure the attention of even specialists when they have both Radloff's and Thomsen's complete transcriptions before them to make clear what is meant.

One very remarkable and interesting point has arisen in connection with the Turkish inscriptions which brings the Greeks, Tartars, and Chinese accounts incontestably into one force, and furnishes at least one common *point de repaire* touching the identity of which there can be no doubt. Theophylactus Simocatta, in his account of the Turks, mentions one of their colonies called Taugast, which name, so far back as 1828, Klaproth had already shown must necessarily refer to China, though he was unable to explain the *raison d'être* of the term. The Chinese, in describing the city of Almalik near Kuldja under date 1221–4, state that the inhabitants of that place styled the Chinese *Tau-wha-shi*, a name which they do not attempt to explain, but which Bretschneider twenty years ago compared with the Turkish

word *tamgad*. In the Orchon inscriptions *Tabgash* is consistently used in the sense of "Chinese." The Turkish word *Tüpüt*, for "Tibetans," corresponds precisely with the Chinese T'upo (commonly read T'ufan). There was also an Ouigour tribe called Tupo: but the inherent quality of both the first and second syllables etymologically excludes the supposition that this can possibly be meant, apart from the fact that they lived in the extreme north so late as the 7th century. The *Apar* of the Turks naturally suggest to us the Avars of Europe; but the Chinese distinctly mention the A-pah (the etymological value of which is A-bar) as being an early Ouigour tribe whose chief is mentioned as coming over to China in the 8th century. The Avares of T. Simocatta cannot possibly be these, but are much more likely to be the Chinese *Yüe-ban*, who disappeared from Chinese ken during the 6th century, appearing in Eastern Europe about A.D. 558, according to Menander Protector. Dr. Radloff makes one tribe Parpurim out of what Dr. Thomsen divides into two, namely, the Apar and Apurim. Dr. Thomsen is probably right, for Dalobian Khan, the first schismatic Khan of the west, had also been known as the A-po Khan: this was at the beginning of the 7th century, and the title was continued after Dalobian's death. About the Kirghiz and Kurikans there is no manner of doubt: Turkish and Chinese accounts agree perfectly. The Chinese describe the Kirghiz language as being the same as that of the Ouigours, though Dr. Thomsen seems to doubt if they were originally Turks. The latest authorities cited in the Encyclopædia Britannica describe their speech as "pure Turkish in structure, but mixed with Mongolian, Persian, and even a few Arab words." Menander calls them Xerxis, and the Khan Dizabul is said to have given a Kirghiz slave to Zemarchus in A.D. 569.

Their southern frontier were the *T'anman* mountains described by Professor Thomsen, apparently through misapprehension, as *Tangnou*. The "Thirty Tartars" cannot well be other than the Tungusic hordes known to the Chinese as *Shih-wei* or Shirvi,[3] the southern branch of which we are told was subdivided into twenty-five tribes, and the northern into nine. Amongst these tribes were the *Mung-wa*, probably the future *Mung-ku* or "Mongols." From the earliest times the Chinese describe the Tartars as being north-west of the Kitans or Cathayans, which is the exact position which all accounts agree in giving to the early Mongols. Just as the Cathayans were a Tungusic race bordering on, and therefore presumably mixed with, the Turks, so would the Mongols, who according to Rémusat, grafted Turkish traditions upon their own history naturally allow their native tongue, whatever it was, to become largely affected by Turkish. The essential differences however between the Mongol and Turkish languages are not very clearly brought out in Rémusat's learned treatise upon the Tartars, which, in truth, is full of serious errors, and only intended at best to be a suggestive or preliminary study.

Both Dr. Radloff and Dr. Thomsen agree in making the first Turkish ancestor to be Bumin Khan, and this Bumin cannot be other than Chinese Tumen,—Abulghazi's Tumana; but it is just as difficult to suggest an explanation of this difference in nomenclature as it is to account for the Thirty Tartars of the Turks being called by the Chinese *Shih-wei*, or of the Tatabi of the Turks being called *Ili* or *K'umo-Ili* by the Chinese. The Djarud Mongols now occupy the territory once held by the *Ili*, and it is remarkable that, whilst classing them as a Tungusic race, the Chinese mention them in detail along with other Turks, and not along with other Tunguses: hence we may safely assume that certain border

tribes were of mixed blood, just as we find whole villages of the people of Alsace-Lorraine as much German as French, and the same with other frontier peoples in Europe.

The passages referring to the gods of the Turks—the gods of land and water,—together with the half dozen passages preceding them, receive somewhat different treatment at the hands of the two professors: for an outsider the general meaning arrived at is much the same, and at any rate the Chinese make distinct mention of both "Earth" and "Water" worship, so that we may be content to leave the exact grammatical bearings of each allusion to specialists in the Turkish tongues. What is certain at least is that the religion was still pure Shamanism, without the faintest trace of Mussulman, Christian, or Buddhistic influence.

There is one passage in which, though totally ignorant of the Turkish language, we think that Dr. Radloff must be right and Dr. Thomsen wrong. This is where the Khan Bilza, recounting the early exploits of his father Kutlug, says: "Das Volk aber hatte seine türkischen Sitten aufgegeben," which Dr. Thomsen translates: "il abolit les peuples et leurs institutions turques." Both agree in the following sentence that "the people were once more brought back to the institutions of their fathers," so that it is more reasonable to suppose that Dr. Radloff's version is the correct one, that is, if the original Turkish words can be made to bear it. On the other hand Dr. Thomsen is probably right in making two officials—the *yabgou* and the *chad*—out of what Dr. Radloff turns into "eine Jabgug-Schad." *Jabgu*, or in the objective case *jabging*, is a most interesting word: the Chinese call it *yep-hu*, but tell us specially to pronounce the initial as a sibilant, and thus the words being both in the lower tone, the total effect is meant to be *zep-ghu* or *jeb-hu*, so far at least as we can calculate back old forms from a comparison

of modern dialects: the meaning they attach to it is "the agnates" of the Khan, and they appear often to use the term loosely in the sense of "the prince," "the viceroy," very much as in the later Roman Empire there were one or more Cæsars under or nearly co-ordinate with a supreme Augustus. In one instance the Khan of the West is given the title of "Suzerain Zep-hu," or in Chinese "T'ung Zep-hu," which, in the absence of any other way of accounting for the name Dizabul, leads us to suppose that the syllables *zab-ul* must be a Greek corruption of *jab-hu*. The *schad*, written in Chinese *shah* or *shat*, do not appear among the earlier Turkish officials, and possibly may be a form of the Persian word which we usually write *Shah*. Right and Left officials styled *ch'at* are also mentioned in the eighth century, whilst the Khan Mogilan himself was also known as "the Little Shat." Just as the ancient Hiung-nu title *doghri*[4] was used alternatively with its Chinese form "Wise Prince," so the Left and Right *shat* or *ch'ah* may have been used simultaneously with the older title, which was in fact borne by Mogilan's brother, the *tégin* Kül or Köl. At the same time we can hardly agree with Professor Thomsen that Kutlug's son Mekü, who, according to the Chinese, was made Left *chesah* during his uncle and predecessor's reign, is the same person as Kutlug's son Mekilien (Mogilan), who is described as being Left Wise Prince when his uncle died. Meanwhile it may be pointed out that 699 is the date the Chinese give for Mekü's appointment, whilst Mogilan tells us, "I was appointed in my 24th year," which, as he was eight when his father died in 690 or 691, would make him twenty-four in 706 or 707. Further scrutiny of the Chinese records will probably elucidate this point. The Tardouch tribe, over which Mekü was appointed *schad*, may possibly be the Turks called *sha-t'o* by the Chinese; but though the position of the Sha-t'o agrees with that assigned

to the Tardouch, it must be confessed that the history of the *sha-t'o* says nothing of any such event.

Dr. Thomsen does not appear to be able to come to any definite conclusion as to who the Tokouz-ogouz or "Nine Ogouz" were, though he appears to see clearly that in a general sense the Ouigours must be meant. As a matter of fact, in A.D. 742 the Nine Clans are specifically mentioned by the Chinese under the head "Ouigours." After the collapse of the Turkish power, the Ouigour Khan was settled by the Chinese Emperor in the old Turkish country, and took the title of Kutlug Bilga. He removed his ordo to a spot 600 English miles north of the northernmost bend of the Yellow River between the River *K'un* (Orchon) and the Uteken Hills, having the "mouth of the desert 100 (English) miles to his north" and then possessing "the whole of the Nine Clans' land." The "mouth of the desert" must mean the road from Kiachta to Uliasutai. The only difficulty about the names of the Nine Clans is to decide how the ungainly Chinese syllables are to be divided and grouped, and when properly grouped, what Turkish syllables they are intended to represent; they appear to be something like Ghutukar, Küramurkar, Merkasikher, Amurtik, Kazar, Ghurrusu, Yokmurkar, Gheizamur, and Yokrakar, the last being the family name of the ruling Ouigour tribe. Moreover, in the history of the Turks proper, the Chinese say that Kutlug (*i.e.* the father of Mogilan, who boasts that his father conquered the "Neufogouz") "rallied the remnants of his men, and proceeded to rob and raid the Nine Clans, appointing his younger brother Mörchör (uncle of Mogilan) as *schad*, and his son Tusik Beg as "*Jabgu*." The "Bar Khan," who puzzles Dr. Thomsen so much, is undoubtedly "*Pah-se* Beg" who is mentioned in 649 as having surrendered to China. As Kutlug died between 690 and 692,

the jump of 43 years would not be excessive, especially as "Bar" may be a hereditary title like "Bilga." Mogilan says that his uncle succeeded his father "d'après l'usage," or "nach der Sitte;" but the Chinese tell us he usurped the throne, which rightfully belonged to Mogilan.

Paragraphs 16 to 19 disclose several serious discrepancies between the translations of Dr. Radloff and those of Dr. Thomsen, but these we must leave to specialists in the Turk dialects. Mogilan describes the Khan of Türgäs as being of Turk breed "like ourselves." This corresponds with what the Chinese say: "they—the Türgäs—were branch families of the Western Turks," and "the Turks were their neighbours on their north-east." The Chinese accounts of this war agree perfectly with Mogilan's statements. They add that, after the Turks had retired eastwards, one Suluk, chief of the P'olo (? Bara) tribe, set up as (Türgäs) Khan. This must surely be the "Bars Beg" of whom Mogilan speaks; but unfortunately this part of the Turkish text is mutilated. However, he states clearly that he gave a sister in marriage to Bars, whilst the Chinese say that Suluk had not only a Turkish wife, but also a Tibetan wife and a Chinese wife, or at least one sent from China. There is a wide difference between Dr. Radloff's "dem hatten wir unsere sechs Stämme der *Kuntschajug* verliehen," and Dr. Thomsen's "et nous lui donnâmes ma sœur cadette pour épouse." Dr. Thomsen's *quoncu-jug*—if we suppose it to be the accusative in *ug* of the Chinese word *kung-chu*, "a princess,"—is at least translatable, and in accordance with fact, whereas *kuntschajug* has no apparent meaning at all. The Manchu princesses given to the Mongols are still called *kung-chu*, and there are several instances in Turkish history of Chinese Emperors conferring this title (meaning "daughter of the Emperor") upon women of Turkish blood, just as the title *ch'in-wang* or "prince of the

blood" is and was conferred upon foreign Tartar princes and Kings of Corea.

Chinese history does not support the accounts given by Mogilan of the conquests of Mörchör over the Kirghiz: but they state that this people had no intercourse with China before A.D. 648, when, hearing of the submission to the Chinese Emperor of the various Ouigours, they also sent tribute; so that we are probably safe in assuming that the Chinese heard nothing of any Turk conquests in the far west. The *Kengu-Tarman* of the Kirghiz, which Dr. Thomsen describes as *inconnu*, and suggests may be the modern Tarbagatai, is undoubtedly the *T'an-man* range, touching which the Chinese say: "The Kirghiz are away 1,000 (English) miles to the north-west of the Ouigours and impinge on the *T'an-man* Hills to the south." After this passage occurs in Dr. Thomsen's version the following, which, so far as we can discern, does not appear in the Turkish at all, certainly not in Dr. Radloff's translation: "le frère cadet ne connaissait pas son frère aîné le fils ne connaissait pas son père;" but, as Dr. Thomsen himself says: "en attendant, je dois moi-même renoncer à en trouver la solution" of certain passages in the immediate context, we may assume that the Turkish text is a little unsatisfactory here: at any rate the divergences of opinion between the two savants here become more accentuated. Dr. Radloff's "dichten Bergwalds" is not likely to be so correct as Dr. Thomsen's "forêt sacrée d'Eutuken," for in the Chinese histories the U-te-kien Mountains are over and over again mentioned, not, as Dr. Thomsen says, in the same sense as Mount Toukin, but evidently near it. As early as A.D. 390 the *Uk-ti-kien* appears as the name of the chief of a tribe called *Heh-t'up-lin* (? Ghurtürin), and the Ouigour tribes called *Yen-do* or *Sie-yen-do* are stated to have occupied the *Ut-tuk-kün* Range,

which would be near Urga or Karakorum. In flying before the Tibetans for refuge in China, the *Sha-t'o* Turks followed the line of the *U-te-kien* Hills. The Ouigour Khan's ordo was *between* the Orchon and the *U-te-kien* Hills 600 miles north of the northernmost bend of the Yellow River. It thus becomes almost a certainty that, whether one or more of these names is or is not identical with the other, the *U-te-kien* Range must be south of the desert and not far from China, and no doubt the same in effect as Rashid-eddin's Utikan.

Dr. Radloff translates: "Zusammen mit meinem Bruder *da* zwei Schad waren," against Dr. Thomsen's: "de concert avec mon frère *et les* deux chads." Our previous remarks upon the possibility of *shah* being a mere Persian form of the ancient *doghri*, or "Worthy Prince," may be consulted. According to different Chinese statements Kül was a Worthy Prince and Mogilan was also one; Mekü was a *shah*, and Mogilan was a *shah*; Kül was also a *doghri*. We have shown that Mekü cannot well be the same as Mogilan. The presumption seems reasonable that there were three brothers, and that *shah*, *doghri* and *hien-wang* ("Worthy Prince") all three mean "Cæsar" or "Viceroy." In fact the Yollig *tegin* who composed the inscription is more likely to be a fourth brother than a cousin. Mogilan here again couples the Kitai and the Tatabi in one. The Japanese it may be remarked, by a process called *nigori* or "thickening," convert the initial *h* into a *b* when the syllable beginning with *h* follows another ending with a vowel. Thus *hi-hachi*, or "fire-box," becomes *hi-bachi*. In a paper upon the similarity between certain Burmese and Japanese peculiarities (published by the Japan Asiatic Society), we have also drawn attention to a form of *nigori* in Burmese. Even in Corean the same thing exists to a limited extent. If, then, we assume that the word *Tata* is merely a qualificatory of *Hi* (as the Chinese style the people who are always

coupled with the Kitans), we thus get the "*Hi* Tartars" or *Tata-hi*. A Chinese work called the *Chêng-tsz T'ung* says: The *Tata* occupy land north-west "of the Kitan, and their horde emanates from another branch of the *Sha-t'o* [Turks]." In the first century a Chinese general named Tou Hien "pushed as far as 5,000 li (1,800 miles) from the Chinese frontier into the heart of the Tata (or Tatar) country." In 630 the Turkish Khan Gheri "was severely defeated at a place in Tata land" called Yin Shan, and in A.D. 880 the *Sha-t'o* Turks, after revolting in North Shan Si, "had to take refuge with the *Tata* (or Tatar), a race akin to the *Moh-hoh* [or ancient Manchus]." In 966 the *Tata* (or Tatar) "a race akin to the *Moh-hoh*, living north of Ordous, sent tribute" to the *Sha-t'o* Turkish Emperor then ruling over part of China as a vassal of the Kitan Emperor to his north. After Tou Hien's great victory, the Tunguses "occupied the Northern Hiung-nu Khan's territory." At the beginning of the 3rd century we read of a powerful Tungusic chief named *T'a-tun*, and several centuries earlier a "Middle *T'a-tun* or *T'a-tui* land" is mentioned much farther west. De Guignes and others make the scene of Tou Hien's victory somewhere near the Irtish; but the utmost that we can extract from the obscure and complicated evidence is that the Modern Urga region,—in fact, the region of the Orkhon, Kerulon and Onon is really meant. All that we can say for certain is that the *Tata* were north-west of the Kitans, and 1,600 miles away from China; that they afterwards occupied lands once inhabited by races of (what was later called) Turkish stock; that they are variously described as Turkish and Tungusic; that they are grouped by the Chinese historians with Turks when called by the name *Hi;* that Persian historians connect the word Tatar with the Mongols; and that everything points to Mongols, Tatars, Tatabi and *Hi* being an intermediate or

mixed race wedged in between the Turkish and Tungusic stocks.

A considerable part of Inscription I is also repeated upon Inscription II, *i.e.* a part of the Turkish inscription upon Kül tegin's[5] stone is repeated in the Turkish inscription upon Mogilan's stone: the last sentences of this common portion are thus differently translated by Dr. Radloff and Dr. Thomsen: "Die trefflichen Stämme und die Chanswürde habe ich gross gemacht, das Volk in den vier Ecken verfolgend, habe ich zur Ruhe gebracht, ohne Feindschaft hingen meine Chane an mir;" and "Parmi ceux dont le peuple, et les kagan se joignirent à moi (?) j'ai fait du bien (?). Beaucoup de peuples aux quatre coins du monde ont été pacifiés par moi, et amenés à cesser les hostilités, beaucoup se sont soumis à moi." It will thus be seen that, when the original text treats of abstract rather than concrete ideas, difference of opinion, not sufficiently grave to imbue the outsider with any feeling of doubt as to the capacity of either savant to give us the best general sense, may fairly arise owing to the vagueness of the original text, and the lack of sufficient historical data to enable translators to realise the exact point alluded to.

On the death of his father Kutlug, Kül married the widow, "il tint lieu de mari," "ist zum Manne geworden." In a note Dr. Thomsen says: "on ne doit pas entendre effectivement épousé." On the contrary, both amongst the ancient Hiung-nu (*i.e.* Turks) and Sien-pi (*i.e.* Cathayan Tartars) it was the invariable rule for a son to marry his step-mothers, so that we must either suppose the *Katun*, or queen, to have been a step-mother, or believe that, as Dr. Thomsen suggests, Prince Kül merely protected his own natural mother as a husband would have done. The Tartars certainly never married their natural mothers, and in the one

case when a Chinese Emperor (Kao Tsung) married his father's concubine (afterwards the Empress Wu) it is almost certain that a laxity so abhorrent to the Chinese mind was borrowed from Turkish ideas. Indeed the founder of the T'ang dynasty seems to have had Turkish blood in him on his mother's side.

Menander Protector mentions the subjection by the Turks of the Sogdians (Sogdaitai) and Haïathals (Ephthalites), and the Turks themselves mention, when Kül was twenty-six years old (*i.e.* A.D. 709-10), an expedition against Alti-Tchoub (Six Tchoub) and the Sogdak (called by the Chinese Suk-tĉk). Dr. Thomsen says the Chinese make no mention of this conquest; but the following statement from the T'ang History undoubtedly alludes to it: "Ulega, after a severely contested but unsuccessful fight with the Caliph Empire, begged assistance, which was refused, from the Emperor: afterwards he prayed that his son Turghot might be made Prince of Ts'ao, and Mörchör Prince of Mi. Granted." We have already seen that between 708 and 713 Arab diplomacy was successful at the Chinese Court. The *Peh-shï*, or History of the Toba Tunguses (contemporary with Tumen Khan), says that "Mi, Ts'ao and six other states have become part of the powerful state of K'ang" (*i.e.* N.E. of Caspian); and the *Sui-shï* or History of the Sui (contemporary with the first nine khans) says that these states were all governed by princes of *Yüe-chï* (*i.e.* Ephthalite) descent. The "Six Tchoub" may perhaps refer to the Ten Western Clans, or Ten Arrows, of the Turks, who were re-organized about A.D. 630 into Five great *Chüe* of the Turuk tribe under the Eastern Viceroy, and Five *Djigin* of the Nushpir tribe under the Western Viceroy. The Five Turuk were east of the khan's capital (Suiye) near Issekul, and the Five Nushpir were west. After several revolutions

one Ilbirok Shapora Jabgu Khan came to the throne, and the K'ang states admitted his authority; he formed an alliance with China in 641. Western Turk history after this becomes very confusing, but the Emperor Kao Tsung divided their territory into departments up to the frontiers of Persia. This appears to have been under the Khan Ghoru about A.D. 659. In 679 Su-ye was made the headquarters of the Chinese Resident, and strongly fortified. The Turk Mörchör is said to have made marauding attacks in A.D. 705-6, and then the Türgäs replaced the Western Asena family, and one Uchile became Khan. Further close research will be necessary to identify the Ulega and Turghot mentioned above, as the passage is an isolated one; but very probably Ulega is a misprint, with two characters subverted, and should be Uchile, for the Chinese tell us that in 703 the "Ten clan domain had been encroached upon by Mörchör and Uchile;" at any rate we have shown that the Chinese actually do, to all intents and purposes, mention the Sogdian conquests, and they also mention a *chüe* named Tut or Tur in A.D. 714 as being Viceroy over the Five Nushpir.

The Ongtoutouk or Ungtuduk of the Turks is the Chinese "General (*tu-tuk*) Wang," or Wong-tsun, who in 720 organized a combined attack upon the Turks; *wang* cannot here mean "King," as suggested by Dr. Thomsen. The Chinese describe how the Turks defeated this combination. The Turkish inscription goes on to say that "when Kül was thirty-one" (*i.e.* about 715) he fought a battle with Tschatscha-Sünki or Tchatcha-sengun, who, as Dr. Thomsen rightly supposes, is the Turkish general (*tsiang-kün*) employed by the Chinese, surnamed Sha-cha, with personal name Chung-i; this man is mentioned by the Chinese as fighting against Mörchör in 698-9, and also against the Cathayans at about the same date; we are bound to assume, therefore, that he

continued to serve another fifteen years or so. In fact the Chinese state that somewhere between 705 and 711 he was tried by court-martial for suffering a defeat at Mörchör's hands.

The name *Jeginsilig-Beg* (or *Yeghin*), given by Kül to one of his best horses, probably represents the word which we have hitherto translated *Ghekin*, a Turkish title borne by Mogilan's grandfather Kutlug, the initial of the first Chinese syllable having an inherent "power" capable of becoming either a guttural or a soft aspirate. "Dans son armure et son . . . ? il atteignit de flèches plus de cent," says Dr. Thomsen, against Dr. Radloff's: "Als Ersatz für diese nahm er hundertfache Vergeltung, und anstatt ihrer Trefflichkeit (?) nahm er für jeden Kopf den Werth eines Tümän,"—a very considerable difference. Dr. Radloff's "die Landverwalter die Ulug-Erkin" is more likely to be Dr. Thomsen's "les Yér-Bayirkou (et ?) les Ouloug-Irken (?);" for we are told by the Chinese that in 716 Mörchör marched north to punish the Pa-ye-ku. This syllable Pa (t) is the same as that used to spell the names *Abar* tribe and *Bars* Khan. The Ouloug or Ulug must be the Chinese *U-lok-hou* or *U-lo-hun* of the "Yü-ki-ni (? Irken) water," living near the River Onon, and mentioned as early as A.D. 443. The T'ang history mentions the *U-lo-hu* amongst those tribes (the *Hi*) which we have already suggested were early Mongols, and probably these were too. They were also called *U-hu*, but the Chinese tell us this is a corruption of speech: this last name was also one of the many names given to the early Ouigours: the Cathayans were on their south, the *Moh-hoh* (Manchus) to their east, and the *Wu-wan* Tunguses to their north. They were 1,500 English miles from Ta-t'ung Fu in Shan Si, and 2,100 from Si-an Fu in Shen Si. One of the early Ouigour Khans, who took the Sanskrit name of Bôdhisatva (or

P'u-sat), is said to have had an able mother named *U-lo-hun*. Thus everything points to the Ouloug being of Ouigour stock.

The mention of the Altyn-jish or Golden Mountains, in connection with the Irtish or Ärtisch River and the Kirgiz and Türgäs conquests, makes it perfectly clear that the Altaï are here meant; but these cannot possibly be the same as the Kin Shan or Golden Mountains *south* of which ancient Turks lived. There are many Kin Shan in China, and Williams' map gives one range, Altyn Tagh, about half-way between the Irtish and Kokonor: even this is far west of the old Turkish position, and nothing could be more certain than that this last was somewhere not far north of modern Kan-chou Fu.

Dr. Thomsen's explanation of the Turkish term *Kara* Türgäs or Black Türgäs as indicating what the Chinese term the "black faction" under Suluk as distinct from the Yellow faction under Sokor, is undoubtedly correct; besides, the Chinese tell us that Mörchör had in 711 set out to chastise Sokor. Also meritorious is his identification of Jinchu-ügüg, "la rivière des Perles," with the River Sogd, or Zarafshan ("spreader of gold"), the Polytimetos or "precious" of the Greeks. In a fragment of Monument III the Chinese inscription mentions a *Chên-chu* River (meaning "Pearl River"), and M. Déveria is undoubtedly right in suggesting that this name is an imitation of the Turkish sound. As often happens in Chinese, it has been possible also to imitate the meaning: *Chên-chu* is still colloquial northern Chinese for "pearl," its true meaning being "true pearl." De Guignes mentions a *Chên-chu* River in the Ili region, not far from the old capital of the Wu-sun Tartars, and *Chên-chu* was not only the name of a *Sie-yen-t'o* Khan, as pointed out by M. Déveria, but also of one of the Western Turk *jabgu* or Khans. In one place connected with these

fights Dr. Thomsen and Dr. Radloff translate very differently; the former has: "c'étaient des hommes braves qui nous avaient attaqué," against "er hatte sich an die Tochter eines Helden gemacht."

Next follows the transcription on the North side of the stone. Dr. Thomsen's "il lutta contre le Kochou-toutouk" has more reason about it than Dr. Radloff's "Zusammen fassten sie sich;" for the *toutouk* of *Ho-chou* (near Turfan), as suggested by Dr. Thomsen in one of his final notes, is probably meant. But there is perhaps a still better alternative. The Türgäs general Ko-shu Han served the Chinese at just this time, and in A.D. 747 was appointed Viceroy of An-si: since the Emperor T'ai Tsung's time the viceroy of this place had had under him the whole west, including Su-ye, Kashgar, Kuche and Khoten. If Ko-shu was old enough in 747 to be a viceroy, we may assume that twenty or thirty years earlier—especially as the Turkish dates are vague about here—he was old enough to fight against his own countrymen. The Turkish inscription says: "Kül *tegin* ayant 37 ans, le peuple des Karlouk devint un vaillant ennemi." Dr. Thomsen put this Karlouk expedition down to about A.D. 714. The Chinese histories say: The *Kor-lo-luk* soldiers were sturdy and always ready to fight: in the 1st year of K'ai-yüan [A.D. 713] they came twice to court." But nothing is said of their rising power until A.D. 742; so that we may well suppose their missions were sent to China in order to obtain protection against the Turks. Dr. Thomsen's battle "près de la sainte source (?) du Tamag" becomes in Dr. Radloff's hands "auf dem Berge Tamgydyk kämpften wir." Possibly this place may be what the Chinese call the *T'ai-han* Hills, 23 English miles north Karahodjo, the residence of the first Khan of the *Sie-yen-t'o* people when they rebelled in A.D. 603 against Chulo, Khan of the Western Turks. The Turkish

inscription, having just stated that the Karlouk war took place when Kül was thirty-seven years old, now unaccountably goes on to say that "this battle took place when Kül was thirty years of age," and again: "Kul *tegin* avait alors 41 ans." On both occasions seated upon his charger, Alpchaltchi, which horse again appears [in A.D. 716] "quand l'empire de mon oncle fut épuisé." The battle near "la ville de Togou" is "bei der stadt Silki-togo" in Dr. Radloff's version, but neither this word nor the "Izgil" nation can be as yet at all identified. The tribe of the "Ediuz" against whom Kül fought at an unidentified place called Kuschligak are styled "Oguz" by Radloff, apparently by mistake. Dr. Thomsen identifies them with the *A-tieh* of the Chinese; but this is not very satisfactory, as the Chinese historians tell us the *A-tieh* were once called *A-shet* or *A-shi* (*t*): moreover the sound *A-tieh* is doubtful, as it is occasionally written *a-pa* (*t*), and has already done part duty, as above mentioned, for *a-bar*. Still, one *Hie-tie Sz-t'ai*, which appears to mean "*Sz-t'ai*, chief of the *Hie-tie*, is mentioned in connection with the *a-tieh* or *a-pah*, and it is also stated that, about A.D. 715-6, he came over with his horde to the Chinese interest; was granted the imperial surname of Li; and under the name *Li Sz-t'ai* continued to serve China; so that this passage may well refer to the Ediz. As for the River Tschusch, or Schusch, can this be the Chu or *Su-ye* River near Issekul? There can be no doubt that the eleven men "de la race des Tongra" killed pendant les funerailles de Tonga "*tegin*" were, as guessed by Dr. Thomsen, persons of the *T'ung-lo* tribe of Ouigours during the obsequies of *T'ung-o t'e-k'in*, who, according to the Chinese, was killed in A.D. 714 whilst attacking the modern Urumtsi: the Chinese say: "from A.D. 650 to 750 little or nothing was heard of the *T'ung-lo*, since their first visit to the Emperor T'ai Tsung." Dr. Thomsen translates "nous luttâmes

contre les Ogouz à Ezghenti-kadaz," and Dr. Radloff "Kämpften wir mit den Ogus unterhalb des Asgänti." It is difficult to hazard any reasonable suggestion touching Ezghenti, but a river called *Shi* (*t*) *Kien* or Shirgen is mentioned, near the *Mung-wa* tribe, as flowing into or out of the Kerulon. The two translations are here very wide apart. Dr. Thomsen has; "Iet transperca deux hommes [.....]. Cette armée [fut tuée?] là. Après avoir hiverné dans la forteresse d'Amga-Kourgan, nous mîmes en marche, au printemps, l'armée vers les Ogouz;" and Dr. Radloff: "Aber zur Stadt ging es nicht. Dort tödteten wir viele Ogus. Aus Furcht Zogen wir in der Ebene des Jyschsap mit einem Heere gegen die Ogus." Where the two learned Doctors disagree to this extent we may be excused from suggesting anything better; but it is the more unfortunate that there should be so wide a divergence here, as this was the battle in which Kül lost his life. Chinese history mentions his death in A.D. 731, and also the very stone (which has just been discovered on the Orkhon) sent and engraved in his honour by command of the Emperor: it is added that Mogilan, who was poisoned in A.D. 734 by the *Mei-luk* Chör, had exactly the same honour paid to his memory. One of the Chinese envoys sent to condole was Lü Hiang, and it is therefore more probable that Dr. Thomsen's recording of the Turkish as "Isiyi Likeng" is right than Dr. Radloff's "Isji-Liki." Just as *Ho-chou* was *Ko-shu*, so does *Hiang* become *Keng* for want in Turkish of an *h*: in modern Japanese all the Chinese *h* are *k*, without one exception. The "böläne vom Türgäs-Chan" are more correctly given by Dr. Thomsen as the "CLON from the Khan of Tibet": the initial B is silent, and such Tibetan officers frequently appear in Chinese history as *lun*. The whole of this portion, giving a description of the envoys sent by various states to offer

condolences, is translated by Dr. Thomsen with more apparent show of likelihood than by Dr. Radloff. The Khan of the Kirghiz sends Tardouch and Inantchou-tchour (Radloff's Inantschmur). The word Tardouch has already been discussed. The six Chinese characters *Hop I-nan-tchou Moho* are found on another stone fragment, and are evidently intended for "Alp Inantchou Mogho," the last being a title common to many Tartar tribes. The Tchang-Sengun sent by China is undoubtedly the *tsiang-kün* or General Tchang who, the Chinese histories tell us, went with Lü Hiang to condole.

We now proceed to the inscription on the south side of the stone, which Dr. Thomsen regards as the introduction to the whole. The Khan addresses himself to his relatives, nobles, and people generally. The officers which he calls his *schadapit* cannot be identified with any of the Turkish titles which the Chinese try to give us, such as *apo*, *djilifat* (M. Schlegel's *soulipat*), etc. The "tarkats (?)" of Dr. Thomsen may be the same as the *tarkan*, which the Chinese always call *tat-kan*, and which are perhaps the Khan named Tourkhanth of the Greeks, or more likely still, the tarkhan officer of Menander. Mogilan announces that he has carried his arms into the Chinese province of Shantung, but this hyperbole probably refers to services performed in his uncle Mörchör's time; he adds: "mais je n'ai nullement touché à la mer (?)," or, according to Dr. Radloff: "bin aber nicht zum Ṭalui hinübergegangen." The Nine "Ersins," which seem to have separated him from Tibet on the south, are a real puzzle: the *Sha-t'o* Turks occupied a position between the Turks and Tibetans, and half a century later their chief accepted the Tibetan title of (B)LON above described. Mogilan here lays stress on the fact that the Eutuken forest was the original seat and centre of Turkish authority. From this

point he conquered the Bayirkou to the north, and the Nine Ersin to the south; and, *whilst in this country*, he entered into relations with China. There are considerable differences here between the two translators of the Turkish text, and certainly Dr. Thomsen's arguments in favour of his own views appear to us to be convincing. Dr. Radloff seems to have misapprehended the sense of several consecutive passages. However, in face of the deliberate opinion of so distinguished a Turkish scholar, we make these observations with all proper reserve; simply remarking that Dr. Thomsen's account seems to agree better with the meagre specific facts recorded in Chinese history, and with the general language used by the Chinese in other places. The Turkish and Chinese accounts perfectly agree so far as touches the setting up of the stone, and the arrival of competent workmen from China.

It is stated on the north-east corner of the stone that Kül *tegin* died in the "year of the sheep." The day only, and not the moon is given, but as his funeral took place in the 9th moon, it must have been before or in the autumn. It is perfectly easy to calculate back all the "sheep" years: the Chinese place his death in the 19th *K'ai-yüan* (A.D. 731) and the stone is dated the 20th *K'ai-yüan:* that one of the half-erased characters is "seventh" and not "tenth" moon is the more probable inasmuch as the Chinese workmen would scarcely go north during the winter. Dr. Thomsen works out the date of the stone to be the 1st August A.D. 732, and his reasoning seems conclusive on every point: this would place Kül's death in March 731.

The south-east, south-west and west sides of the stone contain only a few words: on the west side occurs the isolated name "Inantchou Apa Yargan-tarkan," which is interesting when compared with what has already been said touching most of those syllables.

Monument II.

This stone, in honour of Bilga Khan (Mogilan) himself, stands to the south of Kül *tegin's* tablet. Unfortunately the Chinese inscription is not nearly so well preserved as that upon Kül *tegin's* monument: indeed, the legible sentences are so very fragmentary that there is scarcely more than the date (A.D. 734) to suggest to us that it really was in honour of Mogilan at all. The Turkish inscription, however, is much more satisfactory, though even of that very much is irrecoverably lost, owing to the ravages of time. Like that upon Kül *tegin's* stone, it begins by telling us that he succeeded his uncle (or, as Dr. Thomsen seems to take it, his father) and was composed by the *tegin* Yollig: a considerable part of it, that is the historical retrospect, is word for word the same as in Monument I, which of course enables the translators to be additionally sure of the exact meaning. Mogilan then goes on to say that in his 27th year he made an expedition against the Tangout. The Tibetans were known to the Chinese by this name, but at a much later date: Dr. Thomsen suggests that a Turkish race is here meant. It is perhaps more likely to refer to the Tang-hiang, a nation of Tibetan stock which then inhabited the Kokonor region; for, in their history of the *Sha-t'o* Turks, the Chinese mention at this very date that these last moved a little north in order to avoid the Tibetans: there seems no reason, at the same time, why the word Tangout should not have existed long before the Chinese learned to make use of it.

In his 29th year Mogilan conducted an expedition against "un peuple de ma race au nom sacré de Basmil," or, as Dr. Radloff has it, "das Volk meines weisen Basmal-Ydykut." There can be little doubt than the Basmil are the

Pat-sik-mi or *Pat-sik-mit* of the Chinese, whose resort was north of Urumtsi and south-east of the Kirghiz; they were first heard of by the Chinese about A.D. 580, and they were part of the combination formed by the Chinese general Wang in A.D. 720, when the Cathayans from the east and the Basmil from the west were to coöperate against the Turks, but which combination, according to the Chinese, was confounded by the astute policy of Mogilan's premier and father-in-law, Tunyukuk. The events and dates agree perfectly in the Turkish and Chinese accounts. The following year "the Tchik and Kirghiz became our enemies," says Mogilan. Possibly the Tchik are a nation styled *Sih* or *Sip* by the Chinese, and coupled with the Basmil by them. Or perhaps the *Shih* or *Shik* state (Tashkend) may be meant. The Karluks for a time held possession of Smaller *Shik* state (about thirty miles from Tashkurgan), Dr. Thomsen goes on to say: "En passant le Kem (l'Iénissei) je fis une expédition contre les Tchik." Dr. Radloff has it: "Ich zog eilig (?) gegen die Tschik aus." Dr. Thomsen is probably right, for the Chinese tell us that the Kirghiz used to cross the *Kiem* River in boats. Centuries later Genghiz Khan assembled the various tribes at the River Kien, and the Chinese tell us the *Kiem* "flowed north-east into the sea of the north"; east of the Kirghiz were the three "snow-shoe and sledge-using" Turk tribes called Tupo, Mireka, and Otchi, all under chiefs of *djigin* rank. The Basmil were also known to the Chinese as Orotchi. It would thus seem that some such stray Turks as the Yakut tribes (who call themselves Sokhalar or Lokha) lived east of the Kirghiz, for the Chinese tell us the "Snow-shoes" and sledging Turks lived in birch-bark huts, and were often vassals of the Kirghiz. In the attack upon the Kirghiz "en traversant la neige, qui avait la hauteur de ses lances," is Dr. Thomsen's version of the "das Geschlecht Batymy

Räuber schimpfend" of Dr. Radloff. There must be some serious misapprehension here.

After telling us what he did in his 37th year, Mogilan goes back to his 30th year, and his Bishbalig or Urumtsi expedition. Here are repeated many of the divergences in translation which characterise Kül *tegin's* accounts of the same transaction as rendered by the two distinguished savants. Mogilan speaks of crossing the Togla River in his wars with the Nine Ogouz. Dr. Thomsen rightly identifies this with the Toula, which, in fact, the Chinese often write *T'uk-loh*. Another battle took place near Andargou or Ourgou: if the latter reading be correct, it is tempting to recognize in it the modern word Urga; but, as Professor Thomsen suggests, this all hangs upon the question whether the present word Urga actually existed 1,200 years ago. Mogilan, like Kül, mixes up his own and his uncle's reigns in the most confusing fashion: after coming to the throne "je marchai en aval de la Selinga," which is very different from Dr. Radloff's "und man legte sie in's Grab (?)." In his 34th year the Ogouz took flight and entered China. Perhaps this corresponds with the Chinese statement that "on Mörchör's death the Ikien *gherifa* of another tribe, with the *T'ung-lo* and *Sih* all come over to us." This Ikien may possibly be what the Turks call Ezghendi, or perhaps the *Sz-kiet* tribe, which moved south to seek Chinese protection about fifteen years earlier, may be the Ezghendi. Then "Le peuple Tatabi était soumis au Kagar Chinois." This is confirmed by the following Chinese statement concerning the *Hi:* "In the spring of the 5th *K'ai-yüan* [A.D. 717] their leader came to court, and was given a titular princess in marriage." Dr. Thomsen fixes the date of the wars with the Tatabi and Kitai at 721-2, and this agrees very well with the Chinese statements, according to which some time between 714 and 730 the Kitai

or Cathayans, after alternately siding several times with the Türks and Chinese, at last forced the *Hi* to join the Turkish interest. The Kou-sengun, or General Ku, of the Turkish inscription is perhaps *K'o-t'u-kan* or *K'o-t'u-yü* (variously printed in the Chinese), who was the leading Cathayan chief at this period, *K'o-t'u-kan* was at last routed by the Chinese, and this fact, coupled with his taking alternate sides, would perhaps account for Mogilan's sending his son to condole after *K'o's* or Kou's death. Dr. Radloff takes a different view; he has it: "Als mein ältester Sohn an einer Krankheit gestorben was, benachrichtigte ich den Kung-sängün." When Mogilan goes on to say that he reigned in all twenty-nine years both as *shah* and *Khan*, he is perhaps right, for though he only came to the supreme Khanship in 716, he had been *shah* since 706, and, like Mörchör's son, known as the "Lesser Khan," may well have had rank as a minor Khan.

In giving a short account of his father Mogilan's obsequies, the son and successor (whom the Chinese call *I-jan*, and who reigned till 739) mentions the Turkish (and also Hun) custom of gashing the face as a mark of grief: this also is specified by the Chinese as a Hiung-nu practice. Tounyoukouk is mentioned amongst the mourners; but if this is the same man as the one spoken of above, he must have been a centenarian, for he was already seventy years of age at Mogilan's accession. Another mourner was Taman-tarkan. The name *Tah-man* or *Tat-man* appears a century earlier in Western Turk history, and, like A-pa-tarkan, may refer not only to a person but to a tribe.

Regarding Mount *Tu-kin*, which, as we have seen, Dr. Thomsen regards as another form of *U-te-kien* (though we cannot quite see our way to agree with him), this, the Chinese tell us, was "north of the desert," which practically means near the Orkhon. But another *Tu-kin* is mentioned

as being south of the desert, and it was to this latter *Tu-kin* that the 9th Khan Turli, or Tuli, moved about A.D. 600. This second *Tu-kin* has not the same initial as the first in ancient Chinese, and has rather the inherent power *Du-kin* : it may possibly be a form of *U-te-kien*, which was also south of the desert; but there is no specific evidence in favour of such a view.

It is only fair to Dr Thomsen to state that many of the points, which appear in the foregoing review in the form of emendations and criticisms, have already been anticipated by him in his final notes, added after the bulk of his work was in the press. It is also right that we should here correct a mistake into which we, in common with Dr. Thomsen, have inadvertently fallen. To the Russian savant M. N. Iadrintzeff, and not to the Finnish savant M. Heikel, belongs the honour of having first discovered the Turkish inscriptions on the Orkhon in the year 1889.

NOTES ON MR. PARKER'S PAPER.

[1] *The Huns of Europe.*—Mr. Parker seems to incline to the erroneous opinion put forward by de Guignes that the Hunni of the fourth century in Europe were the same tribe as the Hiung-nu of Sz-ma Tsien. Although in the first century B.C. the Hiung Empire as such broke up, there is no record of the migration of the tribes, such as would be implied by their presence on the Dnieper in the early part of the fourth century A.D. The Hiung-nu were in fact a branch of the Turkish tribe of the Niruns, whom later we find associated with the Darlegins on the River Onghin. [Howarth, part I. 38.]

The initial Hiung is merely the early transcription of Kara (Black), the leading sept having apparently been known as the Kara Nirun. The Nirun, by an earlier transcription, appear in the *Shiking* generally as *Jung* 戎, and we find the particular tribe in the *Tsochwen* transcribed as Kiang Jung 姜戎, and elsewhere the tribal attribute is translated as

Yen 陰, "Dark." There is little doubt that the Huns were really a Turkish tribe. The earliest allusion in Chinese literature to these Turkish tribes is in the Ballads of the *Shiking*, where we find them spoken of as Tiks 狄, a name phonetically connected with the Zend Dahâka. The name covers several subordinate tribes, amongst which it is instructive to find the 獯鬻, *Himyun* or Himwan, apparently the ancestors of the Komans; and another the 葷粥, Hunchuk [*Shiki*, ch. 110] or Hunduk. Now as the Latin *adjective* Hunniscus and such outlying forms as Hun-dsach, Hunk would seem to indicate, not to mention the modern German Ungarn, there was apparently a final k in the name by which these people called themselves, and if we wish to trace their ancestry to sources known to the Chinese we must look to the Hunduks, rather than the Kiang Jung or Hiung Nu.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that Jengis Khan subsequently traced his origin up to the same tribe of the Niruns.

[2] *Shen-yu*.—According to the *T'sien-Han Shu* the meaning of the word thus transliterated is "majestic grandeur." It is the equivalent of the Turkish Tenvir (light, brightness).

[3] Shihwei is the more modern form of the sound represented in the archaic language by Sienpi. Both words are phonetic renderings of *Ushvar* or *Usuri*, the latter according to Gabelentz still a Manchu tribal name.

[4] *Doghri*.—These Hiung-nu Princes were known respectively as the Right and Left 谷蠡, where 谷 is evidently for 俗 and the compound is to be pronounced Doghri, in modern Turkish *Doghru* (straight, correct).

[5] *Tegin*.—I know of no Turkish title to which this can refer, nor do the earlier records throw any light on it, unless indeed (which seems possible) it is an attempt to render into later Chinese the Doghri spoken of above.

I have not ventured to follow Mr. Parker into his other identifications as my researches have not led me into the later history of the tribes. An attempt to render K'ilipat on p. 2 as *djirifal* is, however, palpably an error; Khalife is the more likely transcription.

THOS. W. KINGSMILL.

WANG-CHUNG AND PLATO ON DEATH AND IMMORTALITY.

By A. FORKE, Dr. Jur.

WHO is Wang-chung? This question would most likely first of all be suggested by the theme of this paper. Of Plato, the famous Greek philosopher, all have heard, and perhaps read something, and for any more detailed information you have only to look up an encyclopædia. If you do the same for Wang-chung, you are sure to be disappointed. Therefore, I may be allowed to give some brief notice of his life and writing, before I enter on my subject.

Even among Chinese literati Wang-chung is very little known, and yet he is one of their first thinkers and critics. In order to fully appreciate him one must perhaps be a European. I cannot do better than to introduce him with some words from Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual*:—"Wang-chung is," he says, "a philosopher perhaps the most original and judicious among all the metaphysicians China has produced." "In the writings derived from his pen, forming a work in thirty books entitled Critical Disquisitions, *Lun-hêng*, he handles mental and physical problems in a style and with a boldness unparalleled in Chinese literature. He exposes the exaggerations 'and inventions' of Confucianists and Taoists

with equal freedom, and evinces in the domain of natural philosophy a strange superiority to the fantastic beliefs of his countrymen."

In his autobiography, forming the last book of the aforesaid *Lun-hêng*, Wang-chung tells us that in the third year Chien-wu, *i.e.* 27 A.D., he was born in the city of Shan Yü, in Hui-chi district, the modern Shao-hsing-fu in Chekiang; and further on we are informed that, when he was 70–71 years of age he felt his death approaching. Thus we may safely assume that he died in 98 A.D., that is to say, his life fell just in the beginning of the later Han dynasty. According to the article on Wang-chung in the Cyclopædia of Surnames, translated by Hutchison in the *China Review*, Vol. VII., page 41 (1878-1879), Wang-chung's death would have taken place in A.D. 89. Although I have not the Chinese text at hand, I presume that this must be a mistake of the translator. A year, Yung-yüan, as he translates, and which he identifies with A.D. 89, does not exist, but only a period Yung-yüan extending from A.D. 89-105, within which lies the year 98. Mayers makes Wang-chung live, I do not know on whose authority, from A.D. 19 to circa A.D. 90, but these dates cannot be correct, since they differ from those given by Wang-chung himself.

Already as a boy Wang-chung showed by his earnest and solitary ways that he was different from other children. He did not like to catch birds and cicadas, or play with money like his companions. Books instead exercised a peculiar charm on the mind of the youthful scholar. When sent to school to Loyang, then capital of China, he would roam about the market-place to have a look at the books exposed there for sale which he was too poor to buy. His memory is said to have been so good that, when he had read a book he knew it by heart. He calls himself a devourer of

ancient literature, yet he did not only devour it, as most of his countrymen do, but he also digested it; nor was he afraid of trying his critical genius on those writings, old and sacred though they were.

Wang-chung's teacher at Loyang was Pan-piao, the father of the celebrated historian Pan-ku, author of the history of the later Han dynasty, and with the latter he certainly was acquainted also. Having completed his studies he returned to his native place and first became a school-master. Afterwards he entered the official career, but did not climb very high on the official ladder; perhaps because his views were too opposed to the general beliefs. The last office he held was that of a sub-prefect of the Capital.

Besides his chief work, the *Lun-hêng*, Wang-chung wrote the *Chi-su*, a sarcastic treatise on the depravity of manners and morals in his time, in twelve chapters; the *Chêng-wu*, a book on Government; and, when already an old man, the *Yang-'hing-shu*, on the nourishment of nature. Of all these works the *Lun-hêng* alone has been preserved. It forms part of the *Han Wei-t'sung-shu*, a collection of writers of the later Han and Wei epochs. Its title, "Lun-hêng," almost corresponds to the German word "Erwaegungen," for it means "to discuss" and "to weigh." Wang-chung discusses, in the eighty-five separate essays of which the work is composed, a great variety of different questions, and weighs the right and wrong as with a scale. He was induced to write these essays, says the autobiography, by the great number of erroneous books current at his time, which contained much that was unfounded and insincere. "He did away with all that was specious and fictitious in literature. He defended the full importance of the real and sincere. He scattered those customs which were destructive in their tendency, and restored those of Fuh Hi." The compilers of Chien-lung's

Imperial Catalogue take a somewhat different view. Having objected to his language being too fierce, they go on to say:—"His two sections 'Mencius Satirized' and 'Confucius Interrogated' amount to an energetic sharpening of his pen to use it in keen rivalry with those worthies and sages. We must term them wayward and perverse, designed really to display talent and secure fame. He desired in everything to be pre-eminent, even proclaiming that his grandfather was perverse and stupid, in order to manifest how much he himself excelled. He was exceedingly mad. His discussions are nevertheless for the most part examinations and criticisms of the false, and probe the manners of the age." The praise which Yu-chun-hsi, in his Prefatory Notice to the *Lun-hêng*, pours down on its author is unrestricted. People of the Han period, he remarks, were fond of fictions and fallacies. Wang-chung pointed out whatever was wrong; in all his discussions he used a strict and thorough method, and paid special attention to meanings. Rejecting erroneous notions and all flattery, he came near the truth. He was not afraid of coming into conflict with the worthies of old. Thus he furthered the laws of the state, and opened the eyes and ears of the scholars. People reading his books felt a chill first, but they then repudiated all falsehood and became just and good. They were set right and discarded all crooked doctrines. It is as if somebody amidst a clamouring crowd in the market-place lifts the scale: then the weights and prices of wares are equitably determined and every strife ceases.

Wang-chung is, it seems to me, not so much a dogmatic philosopher, like Confucius or Chuang-tse; but rather a critic and dialectician who does not put forward a system of philosophy, but makes it a point to controvert with his inexorable logic the erroneous doctrines of Confucianists and

Taoists, as well as popular superstitions. In this respect one might call him the Chinese Voltaire, for his principle aim was to enlighten the minds of his countrymen and rid them of old fashioned ideas and antiquated beliefs. There is hardly any other Chinese philosopher who could vie with him in logical acumen. His arguments do not start from preconceived and aprioristic ideas, but are based on facts furnished by experience, the only progenitrix of knowledge.

Three chapters of the *Lun-hêng*, those on Confucius and Mencius, and the autobiography, were translated by Hutchinson in Vol. VII and VIII of the *China Review*. The autobiography contains some biographical notices and a very clever defence of the *Lun-hêng* against various charges brought against it and its author. The fact alone that Wang-chung dared to criticize the two Sages, which in the eyes of an orthodox Chinese scholar is little short of a sacrilege, gives him a claim to our sympathy, for in science there are no sages or absolute authorities. Wang-chung's method in criticizing Confucius and Mencius consists in finding out contradictions and discrepancies between their different sayings, or between their dicta and their action. Several reproaches levelled at them under this head are well to the point. In some instances, however, Wang-chung carries his fault-finding a little too far and loses himself in hair-splitting. Sometimes he even misunderstands the classics, and overlooks, as it were, the easiest and most natural explanations, seeing difficulties where there are none. To the general principles of Confucianism he seems to take no exception; not even to the exaggerated ideas on the effects of morality propounded by both Confucius and Mencius.

One of the most brilliant pieces of sound critic and sober judgment Wang-chung gives us in his essay on Death, forming the last chapter of Book XX of the *Lun-hêng*. The

question is, what becomes of the human soul after death? Wang-chung views it from a Chinese standpoint and accordingly tries to prove that the human soul after death does not become a ghost, or a spirit which possesses any knowledge and might hurt people. Translated into more abstract language this proposition means that the soul after death has no personal, self-conscious existence and cannot exercise any influence in the world of the living.

What Wang-chung's own opinion on the human soul is, he states very clearly. He asserts that the soul wholly depends on the vital force which has its seat in the blood. It is, so to say, an attribute or a phenomenon of the vital force. When by death the human body decays, the blood is decomposed and the vital force residing in it destroyed, which destruction necessarily results in the annihilation of its appendix, the soul, also. Before man is born, his soul forms part of the original vapours. It is a diffuse and formless mass like the contents of an egg before it is brooded, a mere force or a scrap of air without conscience or intellect or any of the characteristic faculties of the human soul. At the birth a part of the original vapours coagulates, as it were, and enters the body, in which it stays during lifetime. When the person dies, it is dispersed and scattered, and returns into its former aërial state, losing thereby its individuality and all purely spiritual faculties.

Thus Wang-chung denies the existence of ghosts or spirits, that is to say, of personal spiritual beings without a material body. To controvert the theory of the immortality of the human soul, he puts forward two negative arguments. One is the forcible popular argument of all disbelievers in immortality: from the fact that the spirits of the dead have never given any sign of their existence, nor even manifested themselves in life, he infers that there are none. If all the

men that have ever lived were immortal, he thinks there would be innumerable millions, they would fill every place, and at every step one would stumble against a ghost. How comes it then that we do not perceive the least of all these multitudes of spirits?

The other argument is a kind of a *deductio ad absurdum*, showing that the hypothesis of immortality would lead to untenable consequences. Wang-chung reasons like this: There is no fundamental difference between the human creature and other creatures. If we give immortality to the one there is no reason why we should withhold it from the others, which means that all the animals are immortal. This consequence is impossible, therefore our first premise that the human creature is immortal must be wrong.

Wang-chung's other deductions are based on experience. He compares the soul to a fire. When a fire is extinguished, the burnt-out ashes cannot flame up again; in the same way, he concludes, there can be no revival of the soul after the body is destroyed. The body is as necessary a substratum to the soul as fuel to the fire. As little as a fire can burn without fuel quite of itself, there can be no soul without a body living quite by itself.

That the human soul after death cannot be self-conscious or possess any knowledge Wang-chung proves in two different ways:—

The mental faculties altogether depend on the body; as long as the body is in order, they are all right also. When, by sickness or other reasons important organs of the body are injured, the soul is affected too. The worse the sickness, and the consequent disorganisation of the body, the more the mental faculties become disturbed and deranged. Now, when the disease reaches its climax in death and results in completely destroying the body, the disorganisation of the

soul must attain its height too, which is complete annihilation: for it would be impossible to imagine why the soul could be partly destroyed by a derangement of the body, but should not be at all affected by the complete destruction of the body.

As far as self-consciousness is concerned, Wang-chung opines that sleep, a faint, and death are all the same. When a man awakes from a faint he returns, as it were, from death. If during sleep or a faint people are utterly unconscious, although they have their body, the necessary substratum and mediator of the soul, from which it derives all its knowledge of the outer world, perfectly intact, they cannot possibly be self-conscious still after death, when they have lost this very body.

On any questions of importance it is only fair to hear the two sides. In our case, where there is the question whether a philosophical foundation for the belief in immortality exists or not, no one could better represent the other side than the father of idealism, Plato. We find his views on the subject in the beautiful dialogue of Phaedön; where Plato relates the last interview his master Socrates had with several of his disciples, before he was forced to drink the poison. Whereas Wang-chung denies the immortality, Plato avers it. Of course only one of the two can be right; to decide which requires a critical examination of their diverging opinions, especially of the arguments produced.

Plato's first proof is based on the proposition that the contrary grows out of its contrary. The bigger, he says, grows out of the smaller, and conversely the smaller out of the bigger; the stronger out of the weaker, the worse out of the better; sleeping out of waking and waking out of sleeping; thus, he continues, out of life comes death and out of death life. Consequently, all living creatures must die; the dead come to life again, all the living are born out of the

dead. Plato imagines to have thus laid a scientific foundation for the metempsychosis. He places the souls of the departed for a certain time into Hades, for before they are born again under another form they must be somewhere ; at all events they must *exist*, because else they could not be regenerated. Plato concludes his ratiocination with the remark that, if everything living died not to revive again, at last there would be no life left on earth ; for all the matter from which life could spring would be used up.

These reasons may seem plausible at first sight, but they are wrong nevertheless. By the above quoted words, "the souls could not be revived if they did not exist," Plato himself shows us how unsolid the basis is on which he founds his argument. That a soul cannot be created out of nothing means nothing more than that a something cannot grow out of nothing. Something being the contrary of nothing, according to Plato's theory that a contrary grows out of its contrary, it ought to be possible : the soul, a something, ought by death become a nothing, and this nothing, afterwards become a soul again. The premise that contraries originate contraries in the form in which it is enunciated by Plato is erroneous. The very way in which he arrives at it indicates that there must be something amiss. He begins by saying that the bigger grows out of the smaller, the stronger out of the weaker, etc., opposing comparative to comparatives, and then all of a sudden goes over to the positive degree, stating that waking comes out of sleeping, and life out of death. Why does he not say that big becomes small and small big, white black and black white, good bad and bad good, something nothing and *vice versâ ?* Because, though being an idealist, and taking as little notice of reality as possible, he could not place himself in direct opposition to the most common experiences. The abstract rule that the contrary grows out

of its contrary must be considerably restrained and modified. The kernel of truth in it is that a *relative* contrary grows out of its relative contrary, but there is no general rule to the effect that every contrary changes into its *absolute* contrary. If a thing grows, its former shape is *comparatively* smaller than the future one and the future *comparatively* bigger than the former, but every small thing does not become a big one or every big one small. Life and death being such absolute contraries one cannot either conclude that life must come again out of death and that therefore the human soul is immortal.

Plato's fear lest in default of the transmigration of souls every life on earth must cease at last would hardly induce anybody nowadays to embrace that antiquated doctrine. The production of new life does not at all necessitate the preservation of human and animal souls.

To demonstrate the immortality of the soul Plato operates with contraries still in a different way, but very unsuccessfully. He holds that every idea excludes the opposite idea. Snow does not admit the idea of warmth, there can be no warm snow. When the warmth approaches, the snow recedes or is destroyed. The same with fire: when the cold comes near it, it goes back or is lost, but it does not admit the cold and become a cold fire [Chapter 52]. Thus the soul, the bearer of life, does not admit its opposite, death; and therefore must be immortal [Chapters 54, 55].

This is a sophism pure and simple. We can again refute it with Plato's own words:—"The snow does not admit warmth; when the warmth approaches the snow recedes or is destroyed," for in exactly the same way we might say:—The soul does not admit death; when death approaches the soul recedes or is destroyed. Plato here confounds logic and reality. What he predicates of the soul applies only to the idea of soul, and what he says of snow and

fire is partly to be referred to the ideas of snow and fire and partly to the real snow and fire. That in logic an idea excludes its opposite is perfectly true. A fire can never be *thought* of as cold, a movement never as standing still, but that does not imply that a *real* fire can never be extinguished or a *real* movement never be brought to a stop. The idea of rich excludes the idea of poor; is it therefore impossible that a rich man should ever become poor? What holds true in the field of logic is not necessarily so in the domain of reality. Therefore though life is a *logical* attribute of the *conception* of soul, it does by no means follow from this that all the human souls must live for ever.

Apart from the proposition about contraries, Plato arrives at the conclusion by his ideology that the soul has lived before birth without a body. Learning, according to that theory, is nothing else than remembering ideas known beforehand, but forgotten for a while. When we perceive objects these lost ideas come back to us. Since external objects never correspond exactly to our ideas—such as equal, good, true, just—but only approximately, these ideas cannot have been derived from these objects. Our perception of objects by seeing, hearing, touching, etc. begins immediately after our birth, therefore we must have possessed those ideas before; *ergo*, our soul, the bearer of ideas, existed before we were born and got a body. Plato believes that the ideas have a real existence in the realm of ideas, and that the bodyless soul saw them there. If it were true that the soul could dispense with a body in a former existence, the probability would certainly be very great that it might do so after death also. But Plato's deductions are wrong; he completely misunderstands the real nature of ideas.

There can be no doubt that all our ideas are derived from the things around us; they are abstractions from

concrete objects, or circumstances,—creations of our own brain, which only exist in our minds, but have no real existence of their own. By means of the logical laws we can form ideas which have no equivalent in nature at all, *e.g.* the ideas of nothingness or a mathematical line. Nevertheless, even these are derived from nature by leaving out of consideration certain qualities of things, such as the three dimensions, which are lacking in the idea of nothingness, or the notion of breadth, which is wanting in a mathematical line. Likewise, no man attains to the ideal of perfect goodness, truth or justice, yet these ideas are not aprioristic, but taken from mankind, an arbitrary abstraction being made of all bad qualities. Moreover, the experience that children during the first month after their birth, though able to perceive objects, are quite destitute of ideas, tells against Plato's theory that ideas are acquired by the soul before birth. The acquisition of ideas is a very slow process; they are learned together with the language, each language being the repertory of the ideas of a people. Last, if our soul had lived before our birth, we would assuredly have a remembrance of such a state, since during life the memory of the same soul extends over periods of many years.

Plato's most famous argument, by which he endeavours to prove that the soul, as something simple and non-composed, cannot be destroyed, is the following:—Everything composed can be dissolved and decomposed again; that which is simple and uncompounded can never be dissolved. All composed things are visible, whereas the uncompounded are invisible and formless. To this latter category belong the ideas as well as the soul, which has no form and is invisible. Consequently, it cannot be dissolved or destroyed, and therefore must be immortal [Chapters 25-29].

Undoubtedly, the soul as something immaterial, that is, not composed of material parts, cannot be destroyed by being divided into its constituents like the body, because it has none; but that would not prevent it from being annihilated otherwise than by falling to pieces. An undivisible whole might be destroyed by contraction or shrinking till nothing is left, or it might vanish all at once. Kant, in his *Critic of Pure Reason*, submits still another possibility, that the soul could perhaps perish by a gradual relaxation of the moral and mental faculties.

Having shown the futility of all the arguments set forth by the great Greek philosopher, who completely fails to establish the thesis of immortality, it remains for us to examine now how far we can agree with Wang-chung's opposite view. His opinion that the human soul is only a detached part of the original vapours, into which it returns after death, is quite Taoist. We find the same ideas expressed in a Taoist essay, the *T'ai-hsi-ching*, translated by Balfour in his *Taoist Texts* [pages 63-67], which opens with the words :— "The embryo is formed by the concretion of congealed breath; and the embryo, being brought into existence, the breath begins to move in respiration." The commentary, which seems now to form part of the text, remarks on this :—"The generative auræ of the Great Empyrean all constitute one breath. The great or Universal Spirit lying in readiness becomes united with the embryo, and the embryo, being thus united with it, develops respiration." Here we have even Wang-chung's idea about the production of the spirit by coagulation of a part of the original vapours repeated. The *T'ai-hsi-ching* also clearly distinguishes between the vital force, or breath, and the spirit. The spirit, it says, is the intelligent part of the breath, and at the same time identical with the will.

I am not going to concern myself with a discussion of this ingenious pantheistic theory, as it would lead us too far away from the question at hand. Suffice it to say that there are no compulsory reasons for recurring to such a hypothesis, for which nature does not afford us the slightest support. Why should a spirit not be born without having been part of the Great Spirit or the Mundane Soul before, into which it must necessarily return again?

Since Wang-chung takes the soul to be something very much akin to a breath, it is quite natural that he should negative its personal and self-conscious existence after death; for a breath mixed up with another breath cannot well retain its individuality.

Although one may demur to Wang-chung's pantheism, it is not so easy to detect any flaw in his arguments against immortality. What can be said against the surmise that there are no spirits of the dead, because they do not show themselves? The conclusion is not apodictic, but very probable. We do not expect that they should appear in a body; but being spirits like our own, why do they never give the slightest sign of their still being alive, or communicate directly with our spirits? Is it possible that the souls of our dearest friends, who, while alive, loved us more than anything in the world, should by death so completely forget us that they do not take the slightest notice of us? Would they not, to alleviate our grief, assure us at least that they are still alive? An all-loving superior being could certainly not object to their bringing us this consolation, which would turn our despair into joy. What harm could there be in it? The departed souls would certainly do so, if they could, but the probability is that they cannot, because they exist no more. A common objection raised against this argument is that there are many things in the world, *e.g.* the growing of a tree out of a kernel, or the

production of fire or light, which we cannot understand, and which exist nevertheless. This objection is not conclusive; for in all such cases we see the result or arrive at it by science, only the how we cannot understand: but there is not a single instance where we are perfectly convinced of a thing, though we do not perceive the result at all. Such an instance would be that of immortality. If we could see the immortal souls, as we see growing trees or the burning fire, or establish their existence by philosophy, our belief would not be shaken by the fact that as to the how, we are left in the dark.

The statement that if men are immortal all the animals must be so too, requires perhaps some further explanation. Wang-chung only says that there cannot be made a difference between the human and other creatures. Why? Because their spirits are essentially the same; they are made, so to speak, of the same stuff; I say so to speak because in reality they are not made of any stuff at all; there is a quantitative but not a qualitative difference. An animal has, like man, the sensations of sight, hearing, touch, taste, scent; it feels pleasant and unpleasant emotions—joy, sorrow, fear, anger; it has a memory, and can even reason to a certain limited extent. All these faculties are purely spiritual and immaterial; if they are preserved in the human soul after death, they must be so in the animal soul also. Consequently, every animal, be it ever so simply organised, if it has only a glimpse of a soul, must be immortal; all the most filthy insects, vermin, infusoria, must live for ever. This consequence must be unbearable for everybody who in the organisation of the world sees a certain aim. There are animals which only consist of a mouth and a belly, and the sole occupation of which is devouring others, sleeping and propagating themselves. For what purpose should their spirits participate of immortality? In order to go on eating? Yet, if we deny immortality to

any of those spirits, that of the human spirit falls to the ground too, for a rule concerning the destructibility of spirits could not hold with some cases and with others not.

Pure speculation alone, such as used by Plato and other idealistic philosophers, does not afford us a key as to the real nature of the human soul. This requires observation; we have to ascertain how the soul appears to us, and to draw our conclusions with regard to immortality from these observations. Wang-chung does it; his strongest points are just those proofs based on experience. He compares the soul with a fire, inferring that as a fire cannot burn without fuel quite of itself, the soul can have no existence independent of the body. This comparison is a very lucky one. Light as well as warmth and sound are immaterial and incorporeal, yet they cannot exist without a material substratum; there must be something that burns, if light or warmth is to be produced, and every sound requires the collision of substances. This principle that immaterial things exist only as long as they are connected with a material basis, and cease to exist as soon as their substratum is destroyed, applied to the immaterial soul means that the soul cannot live without its material basis, the body, to which it owes its existence; just as a light owes its to the burning candle, a fire to the burning coals and the tune of a flute to the air's striking against the sides of the instrument. Light, warmth and sound must not be confounded with the waves of light, etc. with which they are always connected and of which they are the phenomena or manifestations. These waves are, of course, material; but the concomitant and co-existing apparitions of light, warmth and sound are immaterial,—they have no dimensions and no weight.

This ratiocination rests on the presumption that light, warmth and sound have a real existence in the outer world,

whence through our nerves they are transmitted into our brain, where they produce the sensations of sight, hearing and feeling. A great number of philosophers, however, do not share this naïve and natural view, holding that all these natural phenomena are not real, but exist only in our brain; that of things of the outer world we only know how they appear to us, but not whether they really exist or how they are. Supposing this to be the case, yet the way in which our various perceptions are produced would remain the same. The material impressions we receive from the external objects are wired on the nerves into the brain, and there coupled with immaterial sensations. These transformations of the material into the immaterial cannot take place if the nerves are destroyed, or if the brain, the centre in which all sensations are produced, is dissolved, as an electric spark cannot be transmitted to a certain place if the wire is broken. The soul after death would therefore be devoid of all sensations and completely cut off from intercourse with the outer world. This loss of a part of the soul would entail the loss of the others too, for what should it desire, what dislike, what be glad of, and what sorry at, what think, if it has absolutely no objects to which these sentiments and thoughts might refer or by which they might be evoked?

That the soul can be partly destroyed by the sickness of the body is an undeniable fact. Wang-chung draws from it the consequence that the complete destruction of the body must result in the complete annihilation of the soul. If an important organ, *e.g.* the eye or the ear, are spoilt, a part of the soul is lost also, *viz.* the faculties of sight and hearing; if the brain is decomposed by encephalosepsis, the mind becomes deranged. How should it then be possible that, if the same organs are destroyed by death, and if the brain is decomposed by death instead of by sickness, the soul should

not be influenced at all by it, but remain quite intact? Death is, as Wang-chung says, the highest degree of sickness; its ravages can therefore not be less, but must be much worse than those of a simple disease such as blindness, deafness or encephalosepsis; they must necessarily lead to the extinction of the soul. To acknowledge the effects of diseases on the mind, but to disown those of death, would be as if somebody admitted that a small stone can be split into several pieces by the blow of a hammer, but would not believe that the same stone can be crushed and reduced to powder by the fall of a huge rock.

The soul can be cut away gradually, together with the brain. It has been shown that by extirpating part of the brain the individual loses part of his mental faculties, such as memory, sight, will. If this operation could be continued without causing the individual's death, until the brain is entirely extirpated, all the mental faculties would be gone also, and we would then have a man living without a soul. It can make no difference whether the brain is extirpated with a scalpel or dissolved by the chemical process of putrefaction.

The soul has no independent existence, for, as the Taoist treatise *Yin-fu-ching* [Balfour, *Taoist Texts*, page 56] says:—"The mind is produced from matter and dies with matter; the working faculty resides in the eye.—Man has no mind [as existing apart from his body]; his eye is his mind. What the eye sees the mind acquires; what the eye cannot see, the mind does not obtain." The general idea of this remarkable passage is that the human mind is nothing but the produce of the body, especially the eye, which in forming the mind takes such a prominent part; as such the mind shares the fate of the body and dies together with it.

Let us suppose that a man is born blind and deaf and receives no special education. His soul would be very poorly

developed and inferior to that of the higher classes of animals. If he were to be paralysed to boot, so that he could not feel anything, his only sensations being smelling and tasting, his mind would be hardly superior to that of the most simply organised animals. He would perhaps feel joy and displeasure, but with his limited field of perceptions he could not form ideas nor develop an intellect. If we take away the two remaining senses also, the man would have no soul whatever, and be nothing more than a vegetating organism. Receiving no impressions or impulses from the outer world, he could not know sentiments like joy, sorrow, fear, anger; and no objects being furnished to him by the senses, he could not form ideas, and without ideas could not think. Supposing the soul were self-existing and not the product of the body, it would assert its independence, and not lose the greatest part of its extent by defects of the body, nor dwindle to nothing, when not supported by the five senses. And, furthermore, if the soul cannot exist without the five senses it must be lost when they are destroyed by death.

Sleep and death have been compared together from time immemorial. Wang-chung carries the comparison so far that he asserts the identity of both, and, considering the soul alone and leaving the body out of the question, he is right. What becomes of the soul when a man is asleep and has no dreams? It ceases to exist. That it is evoked again when the sleeper awakes does not remove the fact that during the sleep all the mental faculties are abolished; that instead of the soul we have then a void, a blank, a nothing. The soul is no stuff, no substance existing still beside the various faculties of which it is composed, but these faculties are the soul. If not a single one is at work, there is no soul at that time, though afterwards it may be produced again. Sleep is the mechanical life of a body without a soul. The

body of the sleeper is still alive, but his soul is temporarily dead. It can revive, because the body to which it owes its existence is still intact, only the nerves are so relaxed that they cannot give rise to any sensation. When by the beneficial and restoring influence of sleep they have been strained again, they produce the soul as before. If by the mere relaxation of the nerves the soul is lost, how much more must this be the case if by death the same nerves are not only loosened a little but completely destroyed. We see that the reasons given by our philosopher to establish the mortality of the soul are all sound and good. The comparison of the soul with the light of a burning candle is most instructive. It suggests to me another similar analogy which, I believe, elucidates the real nature of the soul and its relation to the body still more clearly; with which, therefore, I should like to sum up and to terminate this disquisition. The human soul is like the music played on the violin, the body like the violin. In both cases we have a connection of the immaterial with the material. As the different tunes are elicited from the violin, sensations and thoughts are produced by the body. The soul is no substance, as is sometimes wrongly supposed, nor is it a unity, a whole, for in a given moment it never exists in its entirety, but at each moment there is only a very limited number of sensations or thoughts. In the same manner we never have the whole piece of music together, but we hear one tone after the other; when the one has died away, the next is produced. One cannot speak therefore of the existence of a melody, as one speaks of the existence of the violin. The latter exists at every moment, the melody only when it is played, and then not as a unity, but divided into tunes, of which each lives only for a short moment. So it is with the soul also; it has no real existence as a whole like the body. When the brain does not work, the soul does not exist. That

which really exists are the various sensations, feelings and thoughts, each as short-lived as the tone of the violin, produced at one moment and dead at the next. The so-called life of the soul is a chain of the generations and deaths of its constituents. When one sensation has subsided a new one appears, and when one thought has died away a new one takes its place, to leave it immediately afterwards to the next-comer.

The chords of the violin being unstrung, you may touch them with the fiddlestick ever so much, they do not give a sound. If the nerves are unstrung and loosened during sleep, external impressions or impulses are unable to create any sensation. As soon as the chords are strung again and the nerves straightened you may get music from the violin, and soul from the body. If the chords and the cerebral nerves are cut it is impossible to produce either music or soul. And, lastly, smash the violin and the music is gone for ever; destroy the body and there will be no soul any more.

THE CHINESE SYSTEM OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIP AND ITS ARYAN AFFINITIES.

By THOS. W. KINGSMILL.

Of the early migrations of the Aryans we know comparatively little, except that in the history of humanity the earliest apparition of the race is of comparatively modern origin.

At the dawn of modern history we find Aryan tribes well established in Europe, in Greece, Italy, etc. About fifteen hundred years B.C. Aryan settlers made their appearance in the north-west of India, and in a comparatively short period profoundly modified the language and institutions of that peninsula, where they became the dominant race. In ancient Sogdiana, Chorasmia and Bactria the native peoples were Aryans, mostly of Iranic race, and akin to the Sanscrit-speaking tribes who descended on India. The story of the Shah Nameh is but a congelation of the ancient legends, fragments of which are preserved in the Zend Avesta, and the few other remains still existing of old Iranic lore.

Jemshid was a great and virtuous sovereign who ruled his large territory stretching from Media to the Jaxartes with justice and benevolence; but evil times came upon him in his old age, for the tyrant Zohak from the north attacked him, wasted his country and put himself to death. The glory of the state partially recovered under his grandson

Feridun, but for the future the Turkish tribes remained a menace to the very existence of Iran. The dynasty ended with the defeat and disappearance of Gershasp, again at the hands of the Turkish tribes, and Afrasiab for many years tyrannised over the children of Iran.

In this disappearance of Gershasp, the Kereçaçpa of the Avesta, begins Chinese history; for there is good reason to connect the Kereçaçpa of the Yaçna and Zamyad-Yasht with the Gershasp of the Shah Nameh, on the one side, and the Kungliu, the ancestor of the Chows mentioned in the *Shi King*, or Classic of Chinese Ballads, on the other.

The story of the occupation of North-western China by the Chows, a word more correctly rendered, by the substitution of the Anglo-Saxon diphthong *eo* for *ow* or *ou*, as Cheo, follows the lines of the early irruption of the Sanscrit-speaking peoples into India. The Cheos became the predominant tribe, introducing their civilisation, their cult, and to a very large extent their language, over the aboriginal tribes who were largely pastoral, and spoke languages allied to the Indo-Chinese peoples of to-day.

The Ballads of the Ta-Ya, containing the stories of Kungliu and his march, the glories of Tanfu, of Ki, Wanwang and Wuwang, and the siege of Ts'ungyung (Darshan), the Troy of China, now Charchen in the desert of Gobi, contain the precious story of this migration from Bactria to the North-west frontier, and afford the wanting link to join the traditions of China with those of upper Asia. In the following paper I have only considered a small part of this wide subject, the similarity, in cases amounting to identity, of the family system of China and the Aryans.

In explanation of the remarkable change from the polysyllabic and highly inflected Aryan languages, from which in a great degree the modern Chinese has derived its vocabulary, I cannot do better than quote at large the remarks of Professor WHITNEY [*Life and Growth of Language*; H. S. King, 1875, p. 105].

Speaking of the parallel case of the growth of the uninflected and almost monosyllabic English of to-day he remarks:—

The English is, in truth, of all the languages of its kindred, the one which most remarkably illustrates that mode of linguistic change consisting in the loss of formal grammatical distinctions by synthetic means; there is no other known tongue which, from having been so rich in them has become so poor; none which has so nearly stripped its root-syllables of the apparatus of suffixes with which they were formerly clothed, and left them monosyllabic. All this has come about mainly through the instrumentality of the tendency to ease and abbreviation, a tendency which in this department of its working, especially, makes truly for decay; the conservative force, the strictness of traditional transmission, has not been sufficient to resist its inroads. Much of the loss has been the work of the last few centuries; and there is no difficulty in pointing out causes which have at least quickened it. When men learn a strange language, by a practical process, they are apt especially to make bad work with its endings; if they get the body of the word, its main significant part, intelligibly correct, they will be content to leave the relations to be understood from the connection. This was what helped the decay of the Latin tongue, and its reduction, in the mouths of Italians, Celts, Iberians, and others, into the corrupted and abbreviated shape of the modern Romanic dialects; and the irruption into England of the French-speaking Normans, and their fusion with the Saxon-speaking English, added an appreciable element of force to a tendency which was perhaps already sufficiently marked in the later Anglo-Saxon.

These words may almost serve to indicate the change in China. The native inhabitants of the land in the transition period after the conquest of Ts'in had fused the Empire into one, acquired the language of the predominant race, as do their descendants of to-day, as a pidjin. This was assisted by the idolic character of the written language in which the phonetic element was almost non-existent. One word, one

sign was the rule, and this emphasised the natural tendency of the race to slough off inflexions and unneeded syllables. In many cases a slightly different though allied method was adopted; words were decapitated, and different though allied meanings given to each part, *bhartar* for instance was the old word for brother. Separate signs were given to *bhar* and *tar*, and the former was taken to mean *elder*, the latter *younger* brother. So a form like *harb-as* (Gr. ἄρπη or ἄρπυια) represented a bear; now we have hiung the *black* bear, and *p'i* bears in general, etc.

Mr. George Jamieson [*China Review*, Vol. X, pp. 77 to 99] and Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff [*Transactions C. B. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 131 to 189] have given us valuable and almost exhaustive notes on the family laws of China as affecting relationships. With this side of the question I do not propose to deal. Both papers indicate the resemblances, frequently amounting to identity, between the family law of China and that of ancient Rome; and this is more especially noteworthy in the broad distinction existing in both systems between Agnate and Cognate relationships.

The system of family law still existing in China is traceable up to the period of the predominance of the Cheo tribes, who some twelve centuries before our era entered China from the North-west. The language and cult of these tribes as exhibited in their most ancient literature, and more especially in the *Shiking*, or Classic of Ballads, has distinct Aryan affinities [*see Pro. C. B. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII]. This ancient work for the most part must be attributed to various periods antecedent to the seventh century B.C., though not reduced to writing for many centuries afterwards; it contains frequent allusions to the family life of the immigrant tribes and their marriage customs, and it is therefore neither illogical nor improbable that we have to refer to similar sources the origin of the family system.

The Chinese system, as it exists at present, is marked by a peculiar dualism. Not only have agnatic relationships a distinct terminology, but the distinction is carried into the detail of each. Thus elder brothers are sharply defined from younger, elder uncles from those of birth subsequent to the father of the speaker, female direct ancestors from male, junior sisters from senior, and the principle is carried out to every minute detail of family life.

The dualism is not entirely confined to China, but is common to all the eastern Asiatic nations with whom from time to time the Chinese have come in contact. My knowledge of the languages and history of these northern and eastern frontagers is insufficient to enable me to speak with authority on the origin of the practice, but in many cases it may be traced directly to Chinese influence. The following notes are intended to show the growth of the division in China itself, and are drawn mainly from Aryan sources. It will thus appear that, with the exception of the broad distinction between agnatic and merely cognatic relationships in which China agrees with the general Aryan system, the minor distinctions are of later growth than the great migration of the Cheos.

父親.—Taking first the simplest. We find in Chinese the widespread name for father, Sans. pi*tri*; Gr. *patêr*; Lat. pater, etc., reappearing in the book language as fu 父 or more at length in the colloquial as fu'-ʦ'san (Pek. fu-t'sin or ch'in) 父親, where t'san is clearly the representative of tar.

母親.—Equally in conjunction with the Sans. mat*ri*; Greek *mêtêr*; Lat. mater, our mother, we find the Chinese 母 mû, colloquially mû'-ʦ'san (Pek. mu-ch'in). There was no possibility of dividing the simple idea of father and mother, so except that in the written language the second syllable has disappeared from sight, the words as spoken have suffered little from the wear of centuries.

兄弟.—The decapitation of the word is complete in the word ˌhing-taiˀ-(Pek. hsiung ti) brother; still used as a single word in the colloquial, though in the book language decapitated, *hing* we are told being the elder, *tai* the younger brother. According to the Chinese idea, these words, originally separate, have been joined together to make the compound more recognisable by the ear. There is abundant evidence to be found that the contrary was the case, and that the dissyllable in these so-called compound forms was the original.

Shiking, I. iii. 1, gives an example of the use of the compound term :

亦有兄弟
不可以據

"*I have a brother indeed, but cannot depend on him.*"

The form 況, in Cantonese fongˀ (Peking hwang), shows that the original sound of 兄 had an aspirated consonant for its initial; the terminations *ng* points to final r. We are thus led to bhar. Tai in like manner in the second syllable indicates dar or tar. The original word was when the ballad was composed *bhartar*. The word thus falls in a parallel line with Sans. bhrat*ri*, Lat. frater, Goth. brôthar, our own brother. There is in the *Shi* no authority for the modern use of 兄 as elder brother, though, as before, 兄 does occur with the elision of 弟 in the written text.

The only instance in which the character 弟 occurs alone in the *Shi* is in I. ix. 4.

兄曰嗟予弟行役

where it refers to a sister, as explained below; "my brothers say, alas! our sister is taken captive!" The line is corrupt, consisting of seven, instead of four feet, 弟 has been used instead of 娣.

姐 娣 'Tsê tai'-(Pek. tsze, or chie ti) sisters. The characters used are somewhat uncertain. For the first we have 姊 with similar pronunciation, but also 姊 or 姊 'tsze. As in the former case the word has been decapitated and 姐 or 姊 has come to be used for elder sister. A more frequent word for younger sister is 妹 Can. mui^2 (Pek. mei), literally the favourite. The phrase tsze mui is a veritable compound and has come largely to supersede the older form.

Tsê tai follows the analogy of hing tai, and we find its nearest representative in Sanscrit svas*ri*, sva=$^{\prime}$tsê, s*ri* tai'. The Gothic form is almost identical, svistar; whence Ang.-Sax., sweoster, Ang., sister. The Lat. soror shows considerable decay, as also, though in a less degree, the Chinese.

The usual word for younger sister, 妹 mui or mei is connected with 美 mei, fair, well beloved. According to the Sanscrit grammarians a similar origin is claimed for svas*ri*, which is said to be a form of sv-asti, joy, delight.

祖 妣—'Tsô 'pi (Pek. Tsu pi) Ancestors, *atavi*. The characters frequently in the *Shi* occur together. We have twice, *Shi*, IV. I. (II.) 4 and IV. I. (III.) 5 the formula in sacrificial hymns.

爲 酒 爲 醴
烝 畀 祖 妣

"*The sweet sacrificial wine we present steaming to our ancestors.*"

Here as usual in more modern times we find the Chinese have decapitated the word, 祖 tsô is made to imply male, 妣 pi female ancestors. The nearest analogue is the Sanscrit Sava-s, the sun (or moon) in his generative capacity, from the root su or sû, savâmi, whence one of the most usual names for the sun—Savit*ri*, the Generator. We find a duplicate to this identification in the word 左 tsô *laevus*, left, the Sanscrit savya.

The root su is made to mean to generate, give birth to, procreate. It may possibly be connected with satavas, proavus, atavus, as if savus by elision of initials. The a is short throughout.

In *Shiking*, II. IV. 5, we read :—

似續妣祖
築室百堵

"*Continuing [in the path of] his ancestors, he set up a many-walled household.*"

The phrase here is apparently inverted, but the reason is not far to seek. The scribe who first wrote down the ballad wished to make a rhyme to 堵, 處 and 語. This only proves that at the time of the inversion *cir.* 150 B.C. the decapitation was in progress and the word could be understood either way.

子孫—From the same root su (sav) proceeds, in both Chinese and other languages of the same stock of the Cheos, the general word for descendants 子孫 'tsze-ˌsün (Pek. tsze sûn). *Shi*, I. I. has it :—

宜爾子孫
振振兮

"*Meet it is that your descendants should be illustrious.*"

Here again in modern use the word is decapitated, 子 being taken to mean son or child, 孫 grandson or grandchild. Originally it seems to have been a reduplicated form, as aorist sushave, and desiderative forms as sushûshâmi occur. As from this root forms as Sans. sûnu-s, Gr. huios, Goth. sunus, etc. arise, it might seem that Chinese sun 孫 might represent the same form. The phonetic element in 孫 seems however to point to ser, so we are thrown back on a form as sûvari, which occurs in the phrase bahu-suvari (bearing) many

children, sushvar or a word closely akin might well have been the original from which the Chinese descended.

夫 婦—ˌfu 'fu, husband and wife. The words here have always been separate, and differ only in tone; both are derived from a root bhar to bear. In Sanscrit the corresponding words are bhart*ri*, husband, lord; and bhâryâ, wife.

妻 The more usual and formal word for wife is however 妻 ˌts'ai (Pek. ts'i, *Wade, incorrectly* chi). This is to be compared with Sans. dâra-s, *uxor*, from root dâr, drî, to rend; the wife originally being "torn," 取 'ts'u, from home, either literally or metaphorically [of *Shi*, II. vi. 10]. The bride under the circumstances was euphemistically said to "return" 歸 ˌkwai (Pek. kwei) *Shi*, I. i. 6.

子 之 于 歸

"*My sweetheart is coming to wed me;*"

or not altogether willingly, *Shi*, I. xv. 1.

女 心 傷 悲,
殆 及 公 子 同 歸

"*The girls' hearts are sore and restless*
As the time approaches to join their husbands."

昏 or 婚—Another ancient name for marriage is 昏. now written 婚 hwan (Pek. hwen, Can. ˌfan). It is probably more frequently used in the reduplicated form 婚 姻 hwan yin (Gr. *gignosko*). It is the homologue of Sans. jam in words such as jampati, husband and wife; Gr. γαμ in γάμβρος, γαμέτης, γαμέω. The word is referred to root jan from which Sans. jani, woman, wife, mother.

In the *Yih King* we get an ancient form of the word [diagram 3, line 2]:—

如 匪 寇 婚 媾

"*As bandits they capture* [*for themselves*] *wives.*"

This form here is 婚媾 hwan keo', but the use seems to imply affection rather than force. So *Shi*, II. VII. 9.

覯爾新昏
以慰我心

"[*When*] *I have met my beloved* [新昏 *san fan, beloved*]
"*How glad will be my heart.*"

So *Shi*, II. VII. 9.

兄弟昏姻
無胥遠矣

"*Brothers and relations should not be distant in their intercourse.*"

From this springs the use in modern Chinese of the word 妹 yin for relations generally, but cognates rather than agnates.

甥舅—The general connection of the Chinese family system with that of the Aryan does not cease when we leave the more marked agnatic relations, and proceed to review the relationship on the female side. I will here begin by again quoting the *Shi King* as our most trustworthy guide in our researches into the antiquities of China.

In the *Shi* [II. VII. 3] we find :—

豈伊異人
況弟甥舅

"*Why are they enemies—Brothers by blood and affinity?*"

甥舅—Shang kiu here stands for brothers-in-law or other close cognates in contradistinction to 兄弟 agnatic brethren. As such we find a perfect analogue in Sanscrit, where we have çvaçura-s, father-in-law (husband's or wife's father), çvaçurau, (dual) father-and-mother-in-law ; çvaçurya, brother-in-law, husband's or wife's brother; kulî, wife's elder sister. In Greek again we have *hekuros* for *sfekuros*, father-in-

law, and *hekura*, mother-in-law. In Latin socer represents the former and socrus the latter, the word reappearing in Gothic svaihra, swaihrô and A.-S. sweger, sweor.

Corresponding to this we have in Chinese a general term for cognates (female) 姑 ˌku;—tai-ku and siuku, elder and younger sisters of husband; yung ku husband's mother; ˌku ˢso 姑叟 sisters-in-law generally, to be compared with kulî above from kula, family, as Chinese 家 ˌka or kia.

But we have also forms as 壻 sai' (Pek. si) for male cognates, a son-in-law, as opposed to 媳 sik, (si), female cognates, daughter-in-law, apparently decapitated as from an original Siksai (çvaçur-a) and with these, more or less confused, the form as above 嫂 or 嫈, ˢso or sao, an elder brother's wife, a distant form of the same word, doubtless decapitated. These agree more or less closely with Greek or Sanscrit, and run also parallel with Latin. None of the other languages contain a complete series.

The Sanscrit form çvaçura is apparently composed of the possessive pronoun sva and çura, Greek *koûros*, *kûros*, with which the European and the Chinese forms agree. The word must then have existed prior to the dispersion of the race. There was throughout apparently an instinct that the word was compound, and hence the Chinese have done less violence than in other cases in dividing it, which they have however somewhat awkwardly done by making the first part, shang, the name of relations on the female side in a descending grade, and kiu of those in ascending order.

This process commenced, though it was not completed, before the reduction of the ballads to writing; thus *Shi*, II. I. 5.

既有肥牡
以速諸舅

"*I prepared a fatted steer, to attract my uncles* [*maternal*]."

Here 諸舅 ćhu ʿkiu is used in antitheses to 諸父 ćhu fu', patruus, to express cognate rather than agnate relations.

In the same verse as above quoted we find the rhyme changed:—

既有肥羜
以速諸父

"*I prepared a fatted lamb, to attract my uncles* [*paternal*]."

According to the scholiast these were the titles used by the Wang in respect of the junior princes, as they had their surname different or identical with that of the senior house. Throughout the *Shi King* 諸 chu is most frequently used as a possessive pronoun, the equivalent, as above, of Sans. sva-s, â, m.

These coincidences, following, as they do, regular rules are not merely accidental, but radical. Taken in connection with laws almost identical, they go far to prove that the ancestors of the immigrant tribes in China were not far removed in blood from their congenors in Northern India and Greece, and that the separation took place not many centuries before 1500 B.C.—the usually accepted period of the Aryan immigration in India.

SCARCITY OF COPPER CASH AND THE RISE IN PRICES.

The following circular was issued amongst the Members of the Society :—

Shanghai, November 20th, 1897.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Grosvenor, in his Report for the year 1896 on the Trade of China, states that there has been a steady rise during the last few years in the silver price of cash, which is attributed to insufficient minting and consequent scarcity of the coin. He further states that, on the other hand, there has been a marked tendency for cash to depreciate in regard to commodities in general. In other words, cash have become dearer compared with silver but cheaper compared with other articles. In their Reports on Trade for 1896 several Commissioners of Customs have alluded to the scarcity and resulting dearness of cash, and some even believe that Exports are being checked by this circumstance just at the time when a low silver exchange with gold-standard countries should greatly stimulate the trade.

The dearness of cash compared with silver may be explained by scarcity, which is probably partly due to the rise in the silver price of imported copper. But a restricted currency should send prices down, and the cash ought to have a larger purchasing power than when the coin was more plentiful. It is reported that vast quantities of inferior cash have been produced by illicit coining, and of course a debased currency has a depreciated purchasing value: but, in accepting this explanation of the second part of Mr. Grosvenor's statement, we are confronted by the difficulty of explaining how it is that cash have at the same time acquired an appreciated purchasing value when exchanged

for silver. Apparently the only logical explanation of the double statement would be that silver has fallen in value as a commodity still deeper than debasement of the coinage has forced down the purchasing power of cash. But what has lowered the value of silver in China? There has been a considerable drain on the stock lately, and one would have expected it to have become scarce and consequently dearer. Customs' Statistics for 1896 show an export of sycee to the value of Hk. Tls. 15,932,000, leaving a net import of Hk. Tls. 1,720,000 only; otherwise it might be thought that low exchange and rise in the silver price of imports would lead to the substitution of silver as an import in place of other articles in exchange for the increase in exports, and thus augment the supply of silver and lower its value. We can hardly suppose, under the circumstances, that the metal has been pouring into the country until it has become cheap. Is it not more probable that extended poverty has restricted the demand for silver by increasing the number of people who use cash exclusively?

It seems likely that while Mr. Grosvenor's double statement is undoubtedly true when restricted to the large trade centres; especially the Yangtsze treaty ports, where the rise in cash prices may be explained by increase of population, enquiry will show that it is not generally true of the Empire as a whole. It is anticipated that we shall find that a debased coinage has sent prices up, but it will perhaps be shown that the silver price of cash has not everywhere increased. The matter is one of great interest and importance, and the Council of the Society will be greatly obliged for any facts you may be able to supply. The following questions will show the points upon which information is requested:—

1.—*What has been the average exchange (cash and tael) during each of the last five years?*

2.—*If cash has become steadily dearer compared with silver, how is it explained?*

3.—*Is there a marked scarcity of cash?*

4.—*Have the cash prices of articles other than silver steadily risen?*

5.—If so, how is it explained? By debasement of the coinage? By short crops making foodstuffs dear? By increased population leading to greater demand? By impoverishment of the country increasing the number of the people who use cash exclusively?

6.—Have wages risen generally?

7.—Why are not more cash minted? Have the local prices of brass and copper risen?

8.—Are any steps being taken to remedy the scarcity of cash?

9.—Is a subsidiary silver coinage coming into use?

10.—Finally, is the double statement true of your district that while cash will purchase more silver they will purchase less of other articles?

An early reply will be appreciated.

For the Council,

E. T. WILLIAMS,

Hon. Secretary.

Replies to the foregoing Circular were received from some of the Members, from which the following Memorandum was compiled.

MEMORANDUM

ON THE

SCARCITY OF COPPER CASH AND THE RISE IN PRICES.

BY F. E. TAYLOR, ESQ.

That cash have been growing steadily scarcer and that the evil has been sharply accentuated quite lately (followed in some places with a slight recovery in exchange from the lowest depths) may be stated with certainty. Various explanations are given, some of which are of local but most of them of general application. The scarcity of cash is attributed to the absence of minting, which has become unprofitable owing to the dearness of copper; to the melting down of good cash for the

purpose of making utensils, instead of using copper; and to a steady increase of population requiring an extended instead of a restricted currency. Mr. Consul Tratman, in his interesting report on the trade of Chungking during last year, wrote as follows:—

"Even more serious than likin is the condition of the copper cash currency. This was referred to in my last report, and in 1897 things have gone from bad to worse. If the officials do not speedily take action it is difficult to see how commerce between distant places in the province can continue at all. The local bimetallic question may be stated as follows. All wages are paid and local purchases effected by means of copper cash;—now a string of 1,000 good Government cash, of which the present Chungking value is about $\frac{9}{10}$ of a tael, weighs 7 catties; thus in view of the difficulty and expense of carriage in Szechuen large quantities of the circulating medium cannot be transported from place to place: accordingly in the larger transactions between merchants in different places silver (sycee) is used; Government accounts are also kept in silver,—but the value of silver in relation to cash is continually falling, and during the last five years has dropped at least 30 per cent. One catty of copper costs 0.32 tael of silver, and copper sufficient to coin 1,000 cash would cost 2.24 taels; excluding cost of coinage, which is considerable if the slow native method is to be used; that is to say, the authorities cannot coin cash of the Government standard except at a very heavy loss; accordingly they have practically ceased to coin at all. Meanwhile, more and more of the circulating medium is required to carry out everyday transactions. Debased and spurious coins increase in number, amounting in some places to 30 per cent of the total circulation; the good cash are being driven out of circulation and melted down in spite of the laws prohibiting such a practice: at present even the smallest purchases cannot be effected without haggling not only as to the

quantity, but also as to the quality of the cash to be employed. Further, in different parts of the province the cash has very different silver values according to its quantity and quality."

This extract explains the whole difficulty as far as minting is concerned. The reasons given are the exportation of cash to other districts, and the hoarding of cash. The more valuable cash become the more hoarding will increase, especially as such a bulky article is difficult to remove without detection. During the past five years the silver price of cash appears to have risen speaking generally 25 per cent. And we are none the less assured that almost all the necessities of life have risen in price, whereas we should have expected cheap cash to bring about cheap prices—just as the demand for gold in Europe and the hoarding in war-chests have sent prices down. Increased population is reported everywhere, making a greater demand upon products of all kinds, while the fall in the gold value of silver has stimulated exports to foreign countries in consequence of the better prices there obtainable, and has reduced the supply circulable for the natives. The enormous quantities of debased cash in circulation have also contributed to send up prices. In some districts short crops and in some the extended cultivation of the poppy are held to be largely responsible for the dearness of food. In Shantung it is said that the cost of agricultural labour has been increased by the emigration of labourers to Western Siberia. Szechuen complains of short crops, poppy cultivation, and export of foodstuffs. General Mesny, speaking of this district, mentions increased taxation, increased demand for luxuries, and decreased hours of labour. From Foochow we learn that the province is poorer owing to the falling-off in the tea and timber trades, while taxation is heavier. The writers of several of the replies appear to think that poverty is increasing, but this would be the natural result of an increase

of population where manufacturing industries have so small a share in the occupation of the people.

The want of cash is in some parts being very slowly and inadequately met by the circulation of a subsidiary silver coinage, and this relief would no doubt extend rapidly was the Government careful to keep the coins up to the fixed and understood standard, and to receive all taxes in such coins.

It may be interesting to mention that the mints at Tientsin, Wuchang, Foochow and Canton altogether turned out the following numbers of subsidiary coins during last year :—

50 cents	-	214,796
20 „	-	31,852,571
10 „	-	17,892,931
5 „	-	66,921

We may probably take 920 cash to the dollar as a fair average exchange for the districts served, and these subsidiary coins, therefore, represent a substitute for 7,608,907,242 cash, which sounds a large sum, which may represent something over eight million dollars. It is difficult to understand why the most useful coin, the 5 cents piece, has been coined in such small numbers, but we may be allowed to hazard the guess that it is to be explained by the smaller profit made in minting —the official in charge considering the interest of the mints rather than the necessities of the people.

The following figures taken from some of the replies received will give an idea of the rise in the silver price of cash during late years. The number of cash obtained for a dollar has fallen

In Wenchow from 1,140 in 1892 to 980 in 1897,
In Shanghai from 1,050 in 1892 to 900 in 1897,
In Tungchow from 1,075 in 1895 to 925 in 1897.

The number of cash obtained for a tael has fallen

In Central Szechuen from 1,600 to 1,150,

In Chungking	„	1,700 to 1,080,
In Wuhu	„	1,600 to 1,320,
In Shantung	„	1,450 to 1,210.

It will be noticed that these considerable variations in the tael prices, are partly owing to the differences in the local taels, and in part due to the percentage of spurious cash in circulation.

I do not propose to detain the meeting by going into details of the rise of prices of commodities. The fact is well known and needs no proving.

It would appear that Mr. Grosvenor's statement, that while cash will purchase more silver they will purchase less of other articles, is almost universally applicable to the whole Empire. It seems beyond question that cash are becoming scarcer every year, and that the population is increasing; this causing an increasing demand on a decreasing supply of cash, and continually aggravating the evil. It is also forced upon us that in most districts the population has so nearly reached the limit of the available food supply, that quite a small margin of safety is left to meet any partial failure of the crops. The cultivation of the poppy is widely extending and has certainly caused a rise in the price of foodstuffs in some provinces, and the cession of Formosa to Japan has cut off one source of supply. The country on the whole is probably poorer than it was, and the foreign loans which have been contracted having been applied to other purposes than the development of the country, represent, with the interest paid, practically so much money drained out of the country. Money spent on ironclads and gunboats destined to strengthen the navy of some other power cannot be regarded as having increased the wealth of the unfortunate taxpayer. There is an appearance just now that the Central Government has at length become alive to the absolute necessity of adopting a new policy, and

that the resources of the country will be opened up. Such a policy, combined with heavy taxation of the land under poppy cultivation, the encouragement of the tea and silk industries, a more sensible fiscal treatment of inland trade, and improved communication,—would soon enable China to pay off all her debts, and to establish a national and rational coinage which would send down prices and relieve the present dangerous pressure. The increase of population, however—due to early and improvident marriages, which, however commendable from an ethical point of view, are largely responsible for the present distress—is likely to have consequences in the near future which one cannot contemplate without grave anxiety. The Chinaman is an eminently law-abiding man, principally because he takes little interest in anything except two absorbing topics—cash and rice. As long as he can obtain a bare sufficiency of these two unattractive articles the most exciting political events cause him no emotion. But if cash are scarce, and rice is dear his most sensitive susceptibilities are stirred; his apathy vanishes and he becomes the most untractable of men. Cash are now scarce and growing scarcer, rice is becoming dearer and dearer; and an ominous spirit of unrest is making itself felt in many parts of the empire. The Government would do well to bestir itself before it is roused up unpleasantly.

NOTE.—*According to the standard fixed in the last century 1,000 cash weigh approximately 7 catties. With copper at £76 per ton the present price of copper is from 31 to 32 candarins a catty. Good cash should contain an alloy of about 3 copper to 4 spelter, so that the price of a string of 1,000 as compared with silver with 6 °/₀ royalty would be about K. Taels 1.44. Cash being thus undervalued, not only are the old coins exported in enormous quantities but large numbers are melted down to form domestic utensils.*

To supply the drain large quantities of inferior cash have been put in circulation. An ordinary string of 1,000 circulating cash at Shanghai will weigh only about 5 lbs. of very inferior metal. If the alloy were good the par exchange should be about 860 to the dollar.

ON THE LIMITATIONS OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.

By P. G. VON MÖLLENDORFF.

> Sure, He that made us with such large discourse,
> Looking before and after, gave us not
> That capability and godlike reason
> To fust in us unus'd.
>
> SHAKESPERE: *Hamlet*, Act iv., Scene 4.

Of all the sciences linguistics is the youngest. The discovery of Sanscrit at the end of last century acted quite as a revelation, and with its help alone did it become possible to reconstrue the oldest forms of the various languages belonging to the Indo-European family, for many of which we did not possess sufficiently ancient documents. With the introduction of the comparative method the science of languages became a popular study. Till then each language had been investigated by itself, now its relationship to others could be traced.

The aim of linguistics is to know all languages spoken on the face of the earth. As a science it is therefore thoroughly anthropological, since man is man only through language, and since languages are the true expression of the human intellect, which latter can only be fathomed by language. In these not only the words as sounds describing things are essential and characteristic, but in the same degree the whole grammar, by which associations of ideas are expressed. To understand human speech in every detail we must know its whole growth, in all its divisions, through all

its phases. Not until we know all languages shall we be able to understand their peculiarities; only by a knowledge of all the languages are we enabled to obtain a perfect picture of the universal intellect of humanity; only by its language can the human soul be known.

This, then, is the aim of linguistics, *viz.* to embrace in its fold all human languages.

Created in Europe, this science naturally turned its first attention to the Indo-European languages. Special investigation is the first step in all scientific research, and so it was here. Not until the single languages have been minutely examined are we allowed to proceed with the comparison of several of them and unite them into one linguistic family. Comparative Philology has to gather, first of all, the linguistic facts in the completest and purest form from the single languages. Then we may compare these with each other in all their bearings and draw the logical results from this inquiry, keeping, however, always in mind the divergencies which we find, and which are sometimes of greater importance than the congruities.

Our own linguistic family, which stands nearest to us, has, naturally received our first attention: the Indian, Iranian, Celtic, Italian, Thrako-Illyrian, Hellenic, Letto-Slavonian, and the Germanic groups have been carefully investigated. The task of this investigation was to show which were the forms of the original speech of this family before the separation, and how the single languages evolved out of it. This is the way it was done (B. Delbrück):—A certain form occurs in all the languages; deduct what is the special growth of each language, and the remainder is the original form. An "acre" is in Sanscrit *ajras*, Greek ἀγρός, Latin *ager*, Gothic *akrs*. Now we know that in Gothic *k* evolved from *g*, and that an *a* was lost before *s*. We thus

find from Gothic the form *agras;* further, Greek *o* comes from *a*, and we there find the same form. And so with each language.

The forms of the original speech are called pre-ethnical, as having existed before the family dispersed. In this sense we speak of pre-Grecian Greek. It is interesting and instructive to study works in which the pre-ethnical stage is taken into consideration, as in B. Delbrück's "Greek Syntax" (1879) and "Old Indian Syntax" (1888).

Where we have grammars and dictionaries of languages, the whole language has to be compared with the other; as far as the most remote corner on either side, nothing should be left unnoticed by the student. The nature of the relationship must always be kept in view, whether descendant or ascendant, as in Anglo-Saxon and English, or collateral, as in Greek and Latin. The historical method is most important in its application to linguistics.

In order to obtain an insight into the psychological moment, investigations carried through a number of languages on one and the same subject are most helpful; such are: on the Dual Number, the Passive Tense, the Numerals, Personal Names, Grammatical Gender, Duplication, and others.

In this way we obtain a thorough knowledge of how all the languages of one family are related to each other, and this is the all-important task of linguistic science. This has been denied; someone has asserted that the thorough explanation of the ethnological list in Genesis (chap. x.) should be the exclusive aim of this science; only after its solution the science of languages will take that place with regard to religion which belongs to it. But this man forgot that linguistics is a free science and no longer a mere *ancilla theologiæ*.

Before a comparison can be undertaken, it is absolutely necessary to settle the original form of speech of a linguistic family which was common to all its members before their separation. We can only compare the original speech of one family with the original speech of another. Before the phonetic laws within one family have been settled, comparison with another family cannot be recommended, as it necessarily leads to disastrous results.

Thus we find in a late publication the assertion that Mongol *murun* "river," Manchu *muke*, Korean *mul*, "water;" Latin *mare*, English *mere*, "lake," are all the same word. Now Latin *măr-e*, root *mar*, means "barren," infertile: compare Sanscrit *marú*, "desert," "sandy waste," whilst the Mongol, Manchu, and Korean words come from a root *mu*, meaning "water."

Another equation is Mongol *bos* imp. "stand up"=French *debout*, "upright." The Mongol is related to Turkish *böt-mek*, "to grow," "to rise;" *debout* comes from *bout*, "end," "point" *mettre debout*, "to place on end," or "upright."

Premature comparison between Indo-European and Semitic words leads to the same result. The Indo-European phonetic laws are well known, and the original speech of this family is, so far as our present investigations are advanced, generally recognised. Semitic roots, however, have not yet been successfully reduced, owing to their peculiar construction. Most Semitic words consist of three consonants, and we do not know whether the third consonant represents an additional meaning, whether an inseparable suffix was added, whether the extension was made by a prefix, or whether the root has been extended in the middle, as is done in many languages. Another solution lately proposed is hardly worthy of serious consideration, *viz.* that each word consists of two roots of which the first ends with the same consonant

with which the second begins, *e.g.* Hebrew *qâtal*, "to kill," composed of *qat* + *tal*, both words of the same meaning. There is no analogy of this process in any known language, and the idea that any Semitic language possessed right through its vocabulary a double set of words (like "look-see" or Chinese 看 見 *k'an-chien*) is not tenable. Besides, the grammatical systems of the two families are entirely different. Neither can be derived from the other, and the distinction between them is so great that they cannot be reduced to an original unity.

The grammar of each linguistic family is ready-made from the very moment when the languages belonging to it came into existence. In its germ lies the whole of the later development. To presume a pre-grammatical relationship is a scientific impossibility; an original form of speech which gradually acquired grammar cannot be imagined, just as little as a period when man was without speech (*homo alalus*).

An example will show how careful comparisons between Indo-European and Semitic roots have to be conducted. Hebrew *ngûg*, "a round cake," has been compared with Latin *coquere*, "to cook." Now, *ngûg* is connected with Arabic *ngûja* med. "to bend," "to curve," so that the Hebrew *ngûg* was named from its round form. On the other hand, Latin *coquere* is connected with the Sanscrit root *pak'* "to cook," *p* and *k* interchanging as in "quinque" and πέμπη

English "leg," and Hebrew *regel*, "foot," have been compared with each other. Leg is derived from a European root *lak*, "to bend" (as the leg at the knee), whilst *regel*, from *rāgal*, "to run about," in Syriac "to flow," Arabic *rajila*, "to go on foot," points to the original sense of moving forward.

The beginning of speech was probably gesture; an idea was expressed by pointing to the object. If the latter was absent, gesture would, by describing it, communicate the idea. Thus we find two-fold gesture language: demonstrative and descriptive. These would lead to different beginnings among different races.

Another kind of word creation is direct and indirect onomatopœia. Words made in this way gradually came into general use, and are frequently so changed by long use that their origin becomes quite unrecognisable. Languages have all been gradually developed; none came suddenly and perfectly into existence. Nor is language ever finished, but is the constantly changing work of the human brain, to enable articulated sound to express our thought. We hardly notice this constant change: one word falls into disuse, a new word takes its place. In 500 to 600 years language is so altered that it is no longer readily understood. We find to-day a difficulty in reading Chaucer's works.

Languages originally related go their own ways after separation has taken place. They diverge more and more in the direction once taken, like Latin and German. Both started together, then each went its own way, which by its original tendency was practically the same, but *duo si faciunt idem, non est idem*, two never do the same thing in the same way, and how different are now modern Italian and modern German!

We call certain languages poorer than others, but do so unjustly. Some have simply not yet been prepared for the reception of new ideas by some great intellect. There is no language on earth which is unable to express everything that has been thought in it.*

* Compare BOILEAU, *Art poétique*, Ch. 1, v. 153, 154:—

Ce que l'on conçoit bien, s'énonce clairment,
Et les mots pour le dire arrivent aisément.

We have old and new languages, like Chinese and French, but not rich and poor ones. Richness may consist in a superfluity of words without any appropriateness in their use. A variety of borrowed words in a language for mere shades of meaning may even be a sign of poverty, as in this way the language gradually loses the power of expanding its roots. But even in the enumeration of words in a language we are often mistaken. The English dictionaries contain, or are supposed to contain, all words used by any author in English,—technical, scientific, provincial, Scotch, slang. The German dictionaries accept pure German words only; technical and foreign expressions are referred to special collections. The dictionary of the French Academy rejects, from a purist's standpoint, not only terms purely technical and provincial, slang, etc., but also words as yet used by but few authors and not yet recognised by common usage. In this way many a good word may receive official approbation somewhat late, while barbarous words (like "electrocution"), on the other hand, are refused admission into the language.

All men belong to one and the same species, all *races* can interbreed and have done so frequently. There is only the difference in the time of their evolution which creates any disparity between them. Language is the really characteristic and recognisable feature which separates nations, sometimes almost the only one. And what enormous differences do we discover in the languages of the various nations! The physiological inequality between languages is sometimes very great, as we find by comparing the grammars of Sanscrit and Chinese.

Shall we ever be able to find a clue why a certain sound is used for the representation of a certain idea? I am afraid never,—especially when we find in numerous languages the same combination of sounds used for ideas of the very opposite

meaning, like "cold," *kalt*, and Latin *callidus*, "warm." Lucretius, the great Roman philosopher, says that utility gave things their names,* but this is not so, with the few exceptions of onomatopœtic words. Surely utility would have taught all men to name things alike, and the enormous variety of human speech would have never grown up.

How did all these variations spring forth? How did the different languages and dialects come into existence?

The first hordes, small communities of a few hundred men, lived closely together; any impulse to innovation in the language made by individuals was easily and quickly assimilated with the habits and inclinations of the others. Unification was brought about without any difficulty. Each such horde, in its seclusion, believed that its language was the only one in existence. Meeting in its wanderings a horde of a different race whose language it did not understand, it thought this language a mere barking of dogs or twittering of birds. The idea, however, that other nations had languages of their own, was gradually acquired by them, and with the knowledge of a foreign language their own lost its high value as being the only one; still their pride caused them to maintain that theirs was the most ancient.

As soon as the horde grew in numbers and its members spread over a larger area, but still keeping up communication among themselves, the situation became changed. Unification in speech still took place, but it required a longer time to accomplish than formerly in the smaller community. Between the single groups perceptible differences remained, as some would still use the old term, whilst others already employed

* *De rerum natura*, v., 5, 1027:

> At varios linguæ sonitus natura subegit
> Mittere et utilitas expressit nomina rerum.
>
> But nature forced the different sounds of speech
> To go forth, and utility gave things their names.

the new one. Unification stopped altogether as soon as communication became interrupted, with a boundary of communication a linguistic boundary was created.

The originally small horde assumed large dimensions, single groups separated in order to find new hunting or grazing grounds. Communication then becomes interrupted, variations of speech and dialects spring up, which, according to the stage of the language at the time of the dispersion, may develop into independent languages, as must have been the case with the Indian languages of North America.

The germs of dialects which thus grow out of the mother speech are contained in the latter, something independent, and yet not disconnected from the language. How far they may, later on, diverge from the mother speech, depends entirely on the stage to which the language had advanced at the time of the separation. If separation took place early, before a sufficient stock of words had accumulated, then the dialect had to create independently, or borrow elsewhere, new words for new ideas. To some extent we are enabled to decide when the separation took place, by investigating, whether all the dialects participate in certain peculiarities: the case suffixes, the tenses, the harmony of vowels, the numeral system, *i.e.* the quinary, the septenary of the Ural-Altaic mother speech, the decimal of the Indo-Europeans, the duodecimal of the Etruscans, the vigesimal of the Caucasians. What we find the common property of all the languages of a linguistic family must have already existed before the separation.

Thus we find that the Semites have always remained close together, the structure of their languages is identical, and their roots are identical. The Indo-Europeans did not separate until their speech was far advanced. The Ural-Altaians possessed, with the exception of the Zyrianians, the

harmony of vowels, and the septenary systems of numerals; their eight is ten less two, their nine is ten less one, etc.

Many languages separated early, when there were but few necessities of life; and the language, therefore, was but little developed, when generic terms had not yet been created and perceptions of the senses were prevalent. In such a case the numbers of words common to all the dialects will be found to be small within a family of cognate languages. With the structure of the language it is similar. There is in all languages a point of perfect organisation beyond which the organic structure never changes. Had this point been reached before separation took place, then all the dialects will exhibit the same phenomena in their structure. If this was not the case, then every dialect will develop in an independent way and may even become a new mother speech of new, totally different, dialects.

Where larger hordes assembled under one man's leadership a commonwealth was formed. With such an epoch the unification of language recommences and a large area is conquered by one speech. One dialect obtains preponderance; all the others have to submit to its absolute sway. The conflux of several dialects is one of the principal moments in the formation of languages; and refinement of speech, which could not develop during the period of separate existence of languages, is largely due to the association of many dialects. Without such creation of a state no large linguistic area can be formed, and languages dissolve into dialects and variations, whose mutual relationship must, in the course of thousands of years, become impossible of investigation. Such dissolutions we find, for instance, in the Caucasus and in the Himalaya mountains, which teem with languages, to all appearances totally different from each other. In Brazil—it is a curious fact that no native state was ever organised on the eastern

side of the American continent—language changes from tribe to tribe, even from hut to hut. Guarani, with Tupi, an excellent dialect of Guarani only lately recognised as such, is perhaps the only language which is understood over a wider area.

The same decomposition will also come to pass, should any of the great languages at present spoken in the world become the universal language. For some time the mother country with its press and its literature may exercise a unifying influence, but gradually the language must again split into numerous dialects and variations, and the process of their unification into groups will have to be repeated. This organisation of states took place at an earlier period with some races than with others. Favoured by a better climate and by superior soil, some were able to evolve earlier from the barbarous stage. Favourable circumstances caused them to progress in civilisation and to invent lasting forms of society. The Assyrians settled in fertile Mesopotamia. The Jews lived in Palestine, the converging point of three continents, where they found splendid opportunities for an early intercourse with other nations, and thence their cousins, the Phenicians, developed, at the dawn of history, a surprising commercial activity. The Arians invaded the magnificient land of the five streams and met with inferior races, whom they easily ruled. The Egyptians produced their high civilisation in the fecund Nile delta. The Chinese settled first in the broad plains east of the Yellow River, and from there established their millenial empire.

These nations rose to a high degree of civilisation, and inferior races, with whom they came in contact, were raised by them from a lower condition and accepted many words into their vocabulary which, on account of their antiquity, can but in rare cases be recognised. Loans of this kind took place

at different periods, and in some cases names for the same idea have been borrowed twice during different periods of speech. They appear to us like different geological strata, and the rise and fall of the influence of civilisation from without has been likened to the coming and going of the waves of the sea (Wellentheory).

Thus Eastern Asia bears a distinct imprint of Chinese culture and language. Chinese borrowed words of different periods are found in Manchu, Korean, Japanese and the Indo-Chinese languages; to the latter, on the other hand, China owes a great part of its vocabulary. Especially was Chinese writing an important factor in introducing civilisation into the adjacent nations. A similar influence was exercised by the Semitic culture among the nations living on the Mediterranean. Phenician writing was brought to Greece, Etruria, and the whole of Italy, and from thence adopted by all Europe. Certain words, like the names for the horse, the dog, the different grains, salt, honey and others, seem to have been widely borrowed from the three or four centres of civilisation during ancient times.

An extraordinary influence over languages has at all times been exercised by religion. The first object of worship, the sun, the bestower of life and light, has the same name in many languages: Sanscrit *sūrya*, *sūri*, Lithuanian *saulé* (*saulya*), Zend *hvare*, Celtic "heul," "haul," Gothic *sauil*, Latin *sol*, Greek ἥλιος, ἠέλιος, are the same words as Hebrew *el*, *eloah* (the plural *èlohim* points to an original polytheism), Arabic *allah*, etc.

In the same way Pali literature was brought to Ceylon by Mahendra, son of King Açōka of Maghadha, in the middle of the third century after Christ, as the language of Buddhism. Later on it was introduced into Burma and Siam. Thence Singhalese and the Indo-Chinese languages possess a rich

stock of Pali words in their vocabularies. Islam has done the same with Arabic words in Northern India, Afghanistan, Persia, and the Turkish-speaking parts of Asia and Europe, and also among the Malays. Our missionaries are at present exercising a similar influence with their translations of the Bible all over the globe.

Such various influences have been felt by almost all the languages, over the general growth of which we have just cursorily glanced. We know of nearly 1,000 languages, but of these, according to a most competent judge in these matters, the late Mr. von der Gabelentz, only about one-fourth is grammatically known. These 1,000 languages have been classed under about 100 families, between which science can as yet discover no relationship. Many, it is true, have not yet been sufficiently examined to allow us to determine whether they deserve specific rank among languages, or whether they should be classed as dialects or mere variations of another speech.

They are distributed over the globe as follows:—

Europe	...	60
Asia	...	300
Africa	...	230
America	...	270
Australia, Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, etc.	...	140

In all 1,000 languages.

The great majority of the living languages possess no literature; in many only the Bible, or parts of it, exist. Translations of the Bible have so far been made in about 300 languages or chief dialects. Of many of the dead languages, only the name has been handed down to us,

Linguistics, as a science, is of too recent a date to enable us to assign to each language its genealogical or physiological place, or to draw up in sufficient completeness a scientific system for all. It has existed as a science, properly so-called, only about 80 years, and has, in spite of patient and indefatigable research, mastered but a small part of its material. But gradually and in time this work will be accomplished, and all the languages spoken on the earth will be examined and classified in accordance with the method already tested in the treatment of the Indo-European group. So far, only the latter has been treated exhaustively. But also the Semitic, the Ural-Altaic, the Malayo-Polynesian, the Dravidian, the Indo-Chinese, and a few other linguistic families have received the attention of scientific linguists; others, as the American languages and the African Bantu forms of speech, have been treated in a general way.

A most difficult work lies still before us, which must be accomplished by labourers in this science, but only those should be admitted as co-workers who have thoroughly mastered the craft. Some who enter the arena of comparative philology, to all appearances so easy, and yet teeming with extraordinary difficulties, as free-lances, come to the work wholly unprepared, sometimes even with no suspicion that this, like any other science, requires a thorough training. Such do more harm than good, especially as they rush in with confidence and assurance where angels (*q.d.*, experts) fear to tread.

Science will persevere with the investigation and comparison of languages, and the results will become progressively surer and more far-reaching. Languages, now considered as isolated creations, will, when we become better acquainted with them, be found to be related to others; all linguistic families will be amplified and new families will be defined.

But whether beyond the different families we shall find a higher unity between the families which so far have not been proved related, or whether we shall ultimately discover a close connexion of all the linguistic stems of the earth, is a question of limitations. If we do so, we shall have solved the ethnographical problem of the descent of man from one pair.

From the theological standpoint the plea for one original language common to all men (the *lingua primæva*) is not indefensible. It was formerly quite a popular belief, and many languages (Hebrew, Egyptian, Chinese, even Basque, Flemish and Scythian) have been, in turn, named, according as the author was guided by theological, patriotic, or some other prejudice.

From the scientific standpoint the question in itself is legitimate, so long as the method by which its solution is attempted is thoroughly scientific; all others are to be rejected without mercy.

Such questions as the origin of language, the descent of man and nations, the origin of the universe, are knotty riddles which have incited thinking men of all times to attempt their solution. The very difficulty of the questions has induced the would-be solvers to use them as a touchstone of their mental powers. But in the absence of scientific methods, such glossogonies, anthropogonies, ethnogonies, and cosmogonies remain empty speculations.

On these points great help has been expected from the science of language, by which so much light has been thrown on ethnographical problems. But in vain. A certain unity of culture is explained by the unity of human nature and by the general uniformity of the objects and circumstances, which in different localities, quite independent of each other, are certain to produce the same results. Tertullian knew

this, and said: "All the races are one man, differing only in name; one soul, differing only in language; one spirit, differing only in tone."

The old mythical history does not help us; the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues make confusion worse confounded, although religious prejudice continually drags them into the discussion. Dante thinks that Hebrew was the *lingua della grazia*, and therefore remained the same after the confusion of tongues as before, and that the other languages are alone *lingue della confusione*. The numbers 70 and 72 —that is the number of languages after the confusion, according to the Talmud—still haunt the brain of some people who allow their

> " . . . godlike reason
> To fust in them unus'd."

It is a curious fact that, wherever tribes came in their wanderings, they found men who had been there before them. The Shumir-Accadians found the Assyrians; Cain met people with whom he allied himself in marriage; the Phenicians discovered people in Great Britain who worked tin mines and were probably not Celts, certainly not Teutons.

In all nooks and corners of the earth we find people driven back into distant valleys by the dominant race, people who have lived an isolated existence for ages and whose languages are totally different from those of their conquerors. The Basques of the Pyrenees are an example of this kind. Their language, split into many dialects, has not yet been classed with any of the linguistic families, although the late Professor von der Gabelentz, in a posthumous work (1894), has tried to prove its relationship with the Berber languages of Northern Africa. The numerous tribes of the Caucasus; the Papuans scattered over the linguistic area of the Polynesians; in the northern part of Asia the Camchadales

and other so-called Palaio-Asiatic nations; some minor languages on the American continent; the Miaotzŭ in China and others show the same phenomenon. In the sub-Himalayan country, between the rivers Kali and Tishta, Hodgson ("Kôsh, Bôdo, and Dhimál Tribes." Calcutta, 1847) met with a perfect Babel of numerous aboriginal languages and dialects, "What a wonderful superfluity of speech! and what a demonstration of the immense impediments to general intercourse characterising the earlier stages of our social progression."

Many languages have entirely disappeared, without leaving any traces behind them. Others have been handed down to us in inscriptions, but they are extinct and have left no progeny. Such is the language of the Shumir-Accadians, found in Assyrian inscriptions, and that of the Etruscans, whose inscriptions, written in Phenician letters from right to left, we are able to read, but to the language thus revealed we are unable to assign its scientific place: it is neither Semitic, nor Ural-Altaic, nor Greco-Italic, as its decipherers have from time to time asserted.

Everywhere we find a plurality of languages, which seems to exclude, *a priori*, a common relationship.

There is, moreover, an extraordinary divergence in the grammatical structure of the different linguistic families. We find languages with flexibility and great freedom in the position of words as the Indo-European; we find the strange system of the tri-literal Semitic languages in which the chief modifications depend on a change in vowels and whose three consonants of the root have not yet been reduced to two. We have the agglutinative Ural-Altaians with a rigid position of words. As if greedy to express all their ideas at once, the polysynthetic languages of North America force a number of ideas into one single compound. There are the African Bantu

languages which, with the exception of Hottentot, radically different from them, occupy a large portion of Southern and Eastern Africa, and which exclusively use prefixes, in contradistinction to the Ural-Altaic which exclusively use suffixes. We find in Eastern Asia languages with tones which modify the meaning of homonyms by giving them different intonations, as the Chinese with its dialects and some of the so-called Indo-Chinese languages.

A strange difference appears between the Melanesian and the Polynesian languages. The latter, in spite of the vast space over which they spread, are merely dialects of one mother speech; among the Melanesians, whose homes are close together, every little island has its own language, sometimes even several.

If all languages were offsprings of one mother, they would show more similarity among themselves, not only in the vocabulary, but also in the way of expressing thoughts. But if it be said that they may have separated from the original speech at a time when language was yet limited and possessed no grammar, then it is not worth our while to search for this too remote relationship, which, pursued step by step, must by necessity become the farther the thinner, until long before we have reached its beginning it disappears under our hands in the twilight of the past.

The same reasoning will prevent us from ever deciding whether the polysyllabic structure was evolved out of the monosyllabic, or whether monosyllabism represents the worn-out condition of previous polysyllabism.

Another difficulty will meet us more or less in all languages. Words change in the course of time their meaning, and, as by mere similarity of sound without equality of meaning, a relationship can never be established, we are obliged in such cases to inquire into the history of the languages in question.

Where this fails us, we are powerless. Trench, in his book "On the Study of Words," has given us a number of examples in this respect from modern times. We may be sure that such changes of meaning were quite common in antiquity too.

To this we have to add the onomatopœtic words which, as expressions in universal use among men of all races, are apt to mislead the inquirer. Then we find formations of words by analogy with other words which are quite frequent in all languages, and further popular etymologies, which date back very far, for either of which we rarely find the true key. The verbal stems, which express ideas relating to actions and qualities, have mostly quite undefined limits of meaning: thus we find our verb "to see," German *sehen*, corresponding in sound and original meaning to Latin *sequi*, "to follow," Greek ἕπεσθαι; Italian and French use the verb "to chew" (Latin, *manducare*), *mangiare*, *manger*, for the old Latin *edere*, "to eat." Latin *dicere*, "to speak," originally meant "to point to," Greek δείκνυμι; "Blue," German *blau*, agrees phonetically with Latin *flavus*, "yellow" (in different shades like Greek ξανθός).

Another difficulty is presented by the formative elements added to the roots: it is vexing to find that, except in a few cases, we are quite unable to explain their origin in a satisfactory manner.

In all these difficulties we meet the same cause: it is impossible to pursue the linguistic material beyond a certain point, where our science inscribes *ne plus ultra*, so far and no farther, and beyond which our understanding cannot reach.

Linguistics has, like all human sciences, its limitations, and when we transgress them we enter the domain of hazy speculations.

We must be satisfied with the result within our reach. Science will undoubtedly be able to classify gradually all the 1,000 languages under linguistic families, and the present number of these families will certainly be reduced in time. But when we commence the comparison of the different families, we are sure to encounter unsurmountable difficulties. This ordinary arithmetic will show.

The best known family is the Indo-European, the number of roots found common to all its languages amount to about 2,000. We are entitled to assume, that every other linguistic family can be reduced to the same number of roots, so that we have 2,000 roots of one family to be compared with 2,000 roots of another. Considering the difference in space and time between two original forms of speech, we are entitled to expect the same results in other languages, which we have found in the Indo-European, *i.e.* the farther and the longer two languages have been separated from each other, the smaller will be the number of words common to both.

Let us again assume, that on comparing two original forms of speech with each other, we find one half of the 2,000 roots to be common (one fourth even, I should say, will be found too high a figure), the number of roots after each comparison will be reduced to 1,000. If we begin by comparing the Indo-European with the Semitic original speech, we thus obtain as a result 1,000 roots. Comparing then the Semitic and the African Hamitic speech we again get 1,000 roots. After comparing these two quantities, each of 1,000 roots, with each other, we reduce this number by one half, to 500. If we apply this method to the other linguistic families, a very simple calculation will show us that, after repeating the process 11 times, we shall find but *one* word common to all the languages so far compared. I

leave it to you to imagine what will be the result after treating all the 100 linguistic families in the same way!

With regard to proving an original speech common to all races, science must always pronounce the verdict *non liquet*.

THE GRAND CANAL OF CHINA.

By W. R. CARLES.

Much has been written by early travellers of the glories of the Grand Canal on which it is not necessary to dwell, the present object being to show the physical difficulties which in its construction and maintenance had been faced and how far it was of value as a commercial route, and incidentally for the purpose of which it had been maintained during the present dynasty, *viz.* as a route for grain transport to Peking. No claim is made to any original research from Chinese documents. The historical part of the paper is mainly based on what was written by Mon. P. Gandar, the *Peking Gazettes* of the last fifteen years, and the published travels of a few foreigners. The southern portion of the Grand Canal, extending from Hangchow to Chinkiang, was constructed between 605 and 617 A.D. The main difficulties to contend against were an influx of the salt waters of the Ts'ien T'ang Gulf and floods from the Yangtze. The magnificent sea-wall on the coast of the Ts'ient'ang Gulf was not constructed until 910 A.D., but embankments of a strong description were existing at an earlier date. So much damage would result to the silk districts of Soochow, Kahsing and Hoochow from an invasion of salt water that no water connection has been made between the Gulf and the Canal. From the Yangtze the entrances to this section of the Grand

MR. CARLES ON THE GRAND CANAL OF CHINA.

A CORRECTION.

In the year 1895 Mr. W. R. CARLES, at present H.B.M's Consul at Tientsin, furnished the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society with a paper on "The Grand Canal of China," which was ordered to be published in the *Journal*. Owing to the sudden death of the Chairman of the Editorial Committee, the manuscript became lost. The Committee, however, having a summary of the paper, published the same in the *Journal*, Vol. xxxi, No. 1. By a mistake this summary, for which Mr. CARLES is not responsible, appears as the original paper, whereas it merely forms a part of the report of the proceedings of the meeting at which the paper was given. The Editorial Committee very sincerely regret the mistake, and it is but justice to Mr. CARLES to make this public explanation.

JOSEPH EDKINS,
THOS. W. KINGSMILL,
E. T. WILLIAMS,
} *Committee.*

March, 1900.

Canal are very small. The chief entrance is near Tant'u, ten miles below Chinkiang. There are numerous bends before the canal joins the river, and a small bar extends across part of the entrance. This point is about twelve miles below Kwa. In the summer a nearer approach to Kwa is obtained by a canal which runs under the wall of Chinkiang and has an exit near the British Concession. In the winter this is completely silted up, and traffic is only possible by the lower branch, but as the wind is generally easterly, the connection between Tant'u and Kwachou is unattended by difficulty. A more serious difficulty is met with near Tanyang, twenty miles south of Tant'u, where the water is often so shallow in winter that boats are unable to pass. The section of the canal between Hangchow and Chinkiang is 780 *li* in length. The country through which it passes is the richest in the province, and it constitutes part of the delta of the Yangtze. The only difficulty in levels is that at Tanyang, which place forms the line of division of the two drainage basins. The section of the Canal between the Yangtze and the Hwai River is both the most ancient and the most interesting. It was opened in 486 B.C., and at the time was fed by the Yangtze. It was not until 1071 A.D. that the waters of the Canal flowed from north to south. The length and size of the Yellow River and the absence of any mouth of the Hwai River on the coast seem to have blinded Europeans to the importance of the latter river. It is the Hwai which drains the north of Kiangsu, of Anhwei and the province of Honan. In its course it receives seventy-two tributaries, from the S.W. corner of Shansi downwards. The Yellow River drains but little of the country on either side. The Wei on the North and the Hwai on the South receive almost the whole rainfall of the surrounding districts. For commercial purposes the River Hwai is the more important, and this fact

was evidently realized when the Canal was first constructed some 2,400 years ago. There have been interruptions of traffic by the Canal extending over many years; new routes have been traced out, and a double line of canals was once constructed parallel with each other. At no time has the hand of man completely mastered nature, but none the less this link has been formed and maintained in more or less effective condition since it was first opened.

At the present date the Canal is fed by the waters of the Hwai or through the Hungtse Lake and a series of other lakes parallel with the Canal, which act as reservoirs. The Hwai at one time ran with the Yellow River to the sea south of Shantung, but the old bed of the two rivers is now practically dry. As the level of the Hwai is considerably above that of the Canal, several *cha*, or weirs, had to be constructed to check the current of the river and provide a depth of water sufficient for boats to ascend to the high level. With the change of course in the Yellow River, the difficulties of the passage have somewhat diminished, but the system is unsatisfactory and does not secure a uniform depth of water. There are times in the year when there are only a few inches of water, and at other times travellers find it expedient to leave their boats and travel overland for a short distance to avoid the delay occasioned by meeting a current, estimated by Mr. G. J. Morrison as of over ten miles an hour.

The Hwai River, having been diverted from its old course, now runs through the Lakes into the Grand Canal, and thence eventually to the Yangtze, through a series of lakes and canals, one of which runs parallel with the Yangtze for a distance of over 140 miles. Le Père Gandar speaks of the current, after passing through the lakes, as so strong as to render the Canal, which carries off its waters, unnavigable. These same lakes and canals served to carry off a large

portion of the waters of the Yellow River during the great inundation of 1887-9.

The country to the East of the Canal has also been utilized for the carrying off of surplus waters. This tract of country, known as the Hwai Ho, is below the level of the waters of the Canal, and is estimated by Père Gandar to contain nearly 8,900 square miles. This immense tract of country is confined on the east by a large Canal and embankment, the latter to protect it from inundations by the sea, to which there are some eighteen outlets. Threatened alike by Yellow and Hwai Rivers on the north, by the Hwai River and Grand Canal on the west, and by the sea on the east, its conservation as one of the great rice-producing areas in China seems to render more to the credit of Chinese engineers than any of their more notable works. From time to time it has been devastated by floods from the sea or the Yellow River, but the damage done to the land has been quickly repaired and its dense population hardly suffers from such attacks. In addition to the accidents by storm and flood it is subjected to the milder inundations caused by the opening of a *pa* to relieve the Grand Canal from excessive pressure. The importance of these *pa* has led to strict rules being framed as to the conditions under which their opening is permissible.

The diversion of the waters of the Hwai River to the Hungtse Lake, and through it to subsidiary lakes which feed the Canal, has rendered necessary the construction of numerous strong embankments to guard against a sudden freshet.

At the northern end of this section of the Canal, 400 *li* from Chinkiang and opposite the town of Ts'ingho, is the important town of Ts'ingkiang-pu. This, in winter, forms the terminus of boat traffic.

The grain-fleets which travel direct from Yangchow to Tientsin need to be raised to the level of the bed of the Hwai

River, and have to be dragged over "haul-overs" by capstans manned with crews of 300 or 400 men before they can reach the old bed of the Yellow River. Ts'ingkiang-pu may be regarded as the terminus of the Canal used for commercial purposes. Beyond that point the Canal is a purely artificial undertaking for the so-called provision of Peking with grain.

Over the 1,200 *li* of canal beween Hangchow and Ts'ing-kiang-pu, boats of 800 to 1,000 piculs burden can travel with ease, and the water is greatly frequented. On the 1,200 *li* from Ts'ingkiang-pu to the Wei River in Shantung the obstruction, caused by the cumbrous movements of the grain fleet, is in itself almost sufficient to kill all the traffic.

The portion of the Canal between Ts'ingkiang-pu and the present bed of the Yellow River differs entirely in its physical conditions from that which has just been described. It is shut off from the sea by the mountains of Shantung, and the only outlet to the sea is by the Yen Ho, a very fine canal, almost in a straight line to Haichow, a town on the coast near which the Japanese threatened a landing. This portion of the Canal is fed by the River Wên, which flows from the east and meets the Canal at a place called Nanwang, where its waters flow north and south. There are some lakes and morasses bordering the Canal, the line of whose demarcation has sometimes been so confused that boats have been able to travel across them, leaving the line of the Canal. This section is less exposed to damage than the south part, but its maintenance has always been a costly matter, and the dimensions of the Canal are consequently reduced.

Before the Yellow River changed its course in 1850, the part near Nanwang formed the main difficulty in the passage of the grain fleet to the north, but now the depth of water in this portion of the Canal seems to be greater and the

difficulties are small compared with the passage of the Yellow River and the entrance to the northernmost section of the Canal. A rise of eight feet has to take place in the river before boats can enter the northern section from the Yellow River, and the fleet has often to wait for a month before the rise occurs. The passage of the river itself is not without danger on account of submerged villages and walls. This portion of the Canal is described as "a mere ditch," flooded to let the grain junks pass, and immediately closed again, as its defective construction and the mud-laden waters of the Hwang Ho, with which it is annually flooded, render its re-excavation every year a necessity. As a means of communication between north and south the Canal need not be considered, as not a single vessel except the junks carrying the tribute rice ever passes.

Near Lintsing Chow the Canal joins the Wei River, and from that point to Tientsin the navigation is only exposed to the ordinary difficulties arising from floods. But the grain fleet which started in February or March from Yangchow cannot afford to dally on the way, for unless they are back within a month it is unlikely that they will be able to recross the Yellow River in the same year.

Communication from the Yangtze with Peking is generally considered to have been established during the Yuan dynasty, and such was actually the case. But the communication was very imperfect, and the grain transport by that route existed only in a small degree. Floods occasionally interfere with the adoption of the inland route, and in 1850 Tao Kwang ordered the sea route to be again resumed, both on account of economy and also on account of the dangerous class of men engaged in the rice transport. Soon afterwards the Yellow River changed its course, and the Taiping rebellion for a long time prevented much attention being paid

to the Canal; but in 1865 Li Hung-chang, then Viceroy at Nanking, secured the repair of a large extent of the embankments. In 1887-8 the Yellow River floods interfered with the carriage of grain by the Canal to Peking. It is thus evident that the inland route has even in late years, after the experience of over four centuries, been constantly obstructed.

In the early part of this century, however, the quantity of grain transported by the Canal from Shantung, Honan, the River Provinces, Hukwang and Chekiang exceeded 4,000,000 piculs. This transport was in the charge of an officer holding a Viceroy's rank, and eight Taotais, besides an immense staff of men, and the fleet consisted of boats of 800 to 1,000 piculs capacity.

At the present day the grain carried by the Canal appears to be limited to a portion of the tribute sent from Shantung and Kiangsu, and is not more than 220,000 to 230,000 piculs. The rest of the tribute is either sent by sea in junks or steamers, or is paid for in silver remitted to Peking. The same official staff seems to be maintained that was needed in former years, but the boats are of much smaller capacity, carrying only 300 to 400 piculs of rice.

The difficulty experienced in transmitting the present small quantity of tribute rice leads to wonder as to what was done when the whole quantity was carried by canal route. In the first month of the year the fleet for the north Kiangsu tribute grain is collected at Yangchow, where the rice which has been bought up in the neighbouring districts of Paoying and Kaoyu is stored. The quantity sent is under 120,000 piculs, but over 800 boats are required, and the loading of these occupies so much time that the fleets, consisting of about fifty boats each, which sail in company, do not reach Ts'ing-kiang-pu, 340 *li* distance, before April. In another forty days they have reached Shantung, 400 *li* further on the road,

and from thirty-three to forty days are required to cover 326 *li* to the Yellow River. As the north branch of the Grand Canal is five feet above the level of the Yellow River, a rise in the waters of the latter has generally to be awaited. The delay occasioned by this in the crossing varies from a week to seven weeks.

The passage of the river by the fleets generally occurs in the latter part of July or beginning of August, and by the end of July or middle of August they enter the River Wei, and pass out of Shantung, to the Governor's great relief. From that point to Tientsin the passage is apparently easy, for notice is seldom taken of their movements by the Peking Gazette; but by the end of September their difficulties begin again, as they approach the Yellow River on their return journey. In some years they fail to recross the river, but generally after immense exertions they are dragged across, and get back to Yangchow in time for the next year's rice.

The total distance by water from Yangchow to Tientsin is just under 2,500 *li*, and the double journey of the fleet occupies a whole year, during which the attention of the officers of the Transport Department and the assistance of the Provincial Governors are indispensable.

The rice transport seems to exist for the benefit of the Canal, but Mr. Kingsmill asserts that "not a single vessel except the junks carrying the tribute rice ever passes" through the portion of the Canal connecting the Yellow River with the Wei River.

Is the Canal a success or not? Those who have travelled on any portion of its waters between Hangchow and Chinkiangfu will undoubtedly say "Yes." The towns on its banks, the string of boats on every reach, and the life on its banks, all testify to the usefulness of the Canal and its satisfactory condition. But as a Government transport route

to Peking the Canal is little less than a failure, and its maintenance is an outrageous burden on the nation. The portion in Shantung between Ts'ining and Lint'sing Chous is that which has most completely baffled Chinese engineers. There are two "Divides," one near Nanwang and the other to the north of the Yellow River near the junction with the Wei River, which occasion constantly recurring difficulties; but the difficulty which is most insoluble is the crossing of the Yellow River. If the water in the river is low, boats cannot enter the Canal. If the water is high the crossing is dangerous. If the depth of the river is suitable, and the Canal is open to admit the grain fleet, the result is always the deposit of an amount of sediment from the water of the Yellow River which entails dredging operations.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. KINGSMILL, who had been called on by the late Futai of Shantung, Chang Yeo, to survey the portion of the Canal passing through that province in the spring of 1887, was able to speak with some experience on the subject. From Tientsin to Hangchow the water communications had been profoundly changed during historic time; and it is doubtful if anywhere in the world human energy had been more effective in modulating the face of the country. The Grand Canal could not be separated from the Yellow River, the changes in which had from time to time seriously affected the communications between north and south. The references to the opening of water communication between the Yangtze and the Hwai in the Ch'un T'siu period, mentioned by Mr. Carles, were, he believed, descriptive of the opening of the first canal between the Hungtsze and Kaoyu lakes, a work which in subsequent times assisted largely towards the modern position of the water drainage.

Looking back to the most ancient of Chinese records, we find in the *Yukung* a reference to the position of affairs in Chihli and

Shantung. The main branch of the Hwang Ho flowing down from the point where it entered the plain at Mangtsin, hugged the foot of the high plateau of Shansi, and entered the sea at Tientsin. But besides this main discharge the river divided itself into several arms, the southern of which took a course almost identical with the present outfall. These are collectively spoken of as the Kiuho or Nine rivers, and traces of several of these arms yet remain. By degrees the channel of the river became confined to one outlet, which flowed by Ocheng, then through Kaot'ang and passing P'ingyuan hien entered the sea at the boundary line between Pechili and Shantung. Towards the end of the twelfth century, when the Sungs were driven south of the Yangtze, a breach occurred near Changch'iuchen in Tungp'ing chow, and the waters made their way south to join the Hwai near the present Ts'ingkiang-pu. This bed seemed to have afforded the first indication of the present canal by Ts'iningchow. In this course the river continued for some 90 years, till in the disturbed time of Kublai, A.D. 1289, the right bank again gave way near Kaifeng, and the river took the course it occupied till 1854. It flowed for some space in the bed of the Hwai, and judging from its position still after the great breach of 1854 must for a considerable period have continued to flow in a well defined channel. Peking rose into great prominence during the Mongol dynasty, and the hint given by the former flow of the river from Changch'iu to Ts'ingkiang-pu was not lost, and it was determined to utilise the channel for a canal. There was thus but one link wanting, and that was to unite the summit level at Nanwang with the Wei, and so complete the water road to the capital. Unfortunately those entrusted with the work struck the Wei too low down, the fall from the Tawang-miao at Nanwang to the Wei at Lints'ing, a distance of about 106 miles, being over 30 feet. To overcome the rush of water, *chas*, which obstructed the flow, were constructed, and these proving insufficient the channel was made to wind about in the most erratic manner, a distance of 220 *li* being prolonged to 275. The bed of the Yellow River having a constant tendency to silt up, by degrees the Hwai was led to flow into the Hungtsze, and thence through

the cross canal, of which he had spoken, into the Kaoyu lake. From the latter canals were cut towards Siennü-miao, till gradually the whole discharge of the Hwai, instead of joining the Hwang Ho, became diverted to its present course, flowing a little east of Yangchow and thence descending to the Wanfukiao near Siennü-miao. At first there would have been comparatively little difficulty in crossing the Hwang Ho at Ts'ingkiang-pu, but as the bed rose the difficulty became greater, and elaborate precautions had to the taken. In 1854 the Hwang Ho again burst its embankments, but this time on the left or northern side. The waters spread out over a large district in the prefectures of Tungch'ang, Tsinan and Wuting, and at last selected the channel of the Tat'singho. In the outburst a large portion of the Canal was destroyed, and the whole of the section north of Wenshang hien rendered useless. Afterwards, when the Hwang Ho became more settled in its bed, attempts were made to reopen the section. The surface of the Hwang Ho at Shilipu he had found in June, 1887, to be four feet over the summit level of the canal, and this was a position fraught with danger. Again the irruption of the river had cut off from its supply at the summit level taken from the Wen River the entire of the section between the river and Lints'ing. Attempts had been made to utilise the water of the Hwang Ho, but that is so loaded with sediment that the channel had to be dug out annually. There was no other source of supply available on the left bank of the river, and under the circumstances he had reported to the Chinese Government the advisability of carrying the clear waters of the Wen Ho under the bed of the Hwang Ho, and forming on the north bank a clear water dock to which vessels would have access by a lock from the river. Between that and Lints'ing three or four locks would have to be formed; and this would enable the Canal to be kept permanently open, unless of course in winter, when it would be frozen. There was really no serious engineering difficulty in the case, the greatest being the works necessary for carrying a sufficient quantity of water under the Hwang Ho to supply the northern section. Mr. Kingsmill, to explain the conditions, read various extracts from his official reports

made at the time to H.E. Chang Yeo, the Governor of the Province, and a man sincerely desirous of improving the condition of his rule.

Mr. G. J. Morrison said he knew the Grand Canal pretty well. The only part he had not personally examined was the portion between the Yellow River and the Wei River, but he had seen the junction of the Canal with both these rivers. He had also travelled considerable distances along the Yellow River and along the Wei River, not only that part which formed a portion of the Grand Canal, but the part above the junction. The portion of the Grand Canal south of Tsingkiang-pu was undoubtedly a useful waterway, but the portion between Tsingkiang-pu and the Wei River considered as a canal was, in his opinion, beneath contempt. When people travelled by way of the Grand Canal as far as Tsingkiang-pu they invariably made a land journey of a few miles to avoid the sluices, and in almost all cases continue their journey to the north by cart. Mr. Morrison however said he had taken boat again as soon as the sluices were passed and gone by boat till stopped by want of water. From what he saw during a dry season he believed there was always more than sufficient water to supply a canal provided with proper locks. The difficulty of providing against damage from freshets was considerable, but by no means insuperable. The Yellow River had cut through the Canal, and a proper crossing could only be made by locks, as suggested by Mr. Kingsmill. The latter gentleman's proposal to carry clear water across the River by means of an underground pipe was ingenious and feasible, though there might be other ways of accomplishing the desired object of supplying the western length of the Canal with clean water and keeping out the muddy water of the Yellow River. Such works could not however be spoken of as improvements of the Canal; they amounted to constructing a canal along the line of the present ditch. Regarding a remark in the paper as to the bed of the Yellow River being above the country, Mr. Morrison said that the first time he saw the old bed it almost took his breath away. He walked up an embankment say 35 feet high, and on getting to the top the bed of the river lay only 15 or 20 feet below him, showing that it was 15 to 20 feet above

the country. The bed appeared to be level all across, but subsequently he had occasion to level accurately across the bed of the Yellow River where it had been left dry by the breach of 1888, and he then saw there was a slight slope towards the centre, and that the lowest part of the bed was not more than about 5 feet above the country. This state of affairs existed west of Kaifeng fu, and all along the old bed leading to the Yellow Sea. Any breach in the bank west of Kaifeng fu was therefore a very serious affair, and it might well happen that when a breach took place, as it did some 40 years ago, it could not be repaired, although the late breach was eventually repaired in a most praiseworthy manner. From a short distance east of Kaifeng fu along the new course to the Gulf of Pechili through Shantung the river-bed was below the level of the country. Although, therefore, in time of great flood, banks might be broken and considerable damage done, the damage was not likely to be of a permanent character, as the river would return to its old course as soon as the flood subsided.

Dr. EDKINS said that Chinese archæologists hold that in ancient times when there were three mouths to the Yangtzekiang, the southernmost flowed into Hangchow Bay. Its course was along the present Grand Canal for a good part of the distance to Hangchow. This was the Chekiang, a name perpetuated in the modern designation of the Province. This theory was developed by Yuen Yuen, Governor-General of Canton, at the beginning of this century. Before the Yuen dynasty the tribute grain from the Kiang provinces went to Kaifeng fu, and this rendered water communication from Chenkiang to that city important. The route probably lay from the Hungtse Lake by the Hwai and the Ju. Thus the way for the Grand Canal made by Kwo Showking in the Yuen dynasty was in part prepared. In Peking a few years ago he saw General Wilson, who came to China to offer assistance from an American syndicate to construct railways. He proposed to make one at the summit level of the Canal, where 70 English miles of a channel too often dry present great difficulties to the Chinese. The summit level is fed by water from the Taishan chain which comes out west-

ward from the Shantung Promontory. It is chiefly the Wen Ho which feeds the Canal at this point. They now heard from Mr. Morrison that engineering could effect all that was required. It would be a worthy achievement of western engineering to help the Chinese in their difficulties. They were too wretchedly poor in country parts. That philanthropy which makes the whole world kin would be well employed in raising a vast population of industrious working men, so that they may enjoy the comforts of a civilized life.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Annual Meeting of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was held on Wednesday night, June 26th, 1895, in the Society's Hall.

The Rev. Dr. EDKINS presided, and in opening the proceedings stated that three new members had joined since the previous meeting last month. One of the members was a gentleman of Tacoma, an American antiquarian, with whom he, the chairman, corresponded. This gentleman published articles in an archæological journal in America upon various interesting subjects, and that made him desirous of coming in connection with the Society in order to further his archæological researches which connect Asia with North America.

Mr. VOLPICELLI, the Hon. Secretary, then presented to the meeting, and read, the various reports for the year.

COUNCIL'S REPORT.

1.—The following members of Council and office-bearers were elected at the annual meeting held last year under the presidency of Consul-General Hannen :—

Messrs. N. J. Hannen, *President;* P. G. von Möllendorff, J. Edkins, *Vice-Presidents;* Z. Volpicelli, *Hon. Secretary;* J. Ritter von Haas, *Hon. Librarian;* Vosy-Bourbon, *Hon. Curator of the Museum;* Thos. Brown, *Hon. Treasurer;* T. W. Kingsmill, Dr. Faber, J. Scott, Dr. Franke, *Councillors.*

During the course of the year our President resigned owing to his departure for Europe and his place was taken, according to the rule of the Society, by the Vice-President, Mr. von Möllendorff. Dr. Franke also had to resign in consequence of his transfer to Peking, and Mr. Bullock was elected in his stead. This does not complete the list of our losses. The Hon. Librarian and Hon. Treasurer have both left us temporarily, and their work has been kindly undertaken by Messrs. Navarra and Donovan, who now occupy their posts.

2.—*Members of the Society.*—Eighteen new members were elected during the year and there have been few resignations.

3.—*Meetings.*—Four Meetings were held during the year, when the following papers were read:—

The Wheel of Life, by Dr. Edkins.
The Coinage of Corea, by Mr. Gardner.
Dialects of China, by Mr. von Möllendorff.
Travels in Tibet, by Mrs. Bishop.

4.—*Journal.*—The following fascicules have been published: Part 3 of Vol. XXVI, containing the valuable catalogue of the Library compiled by Mr. von Haas; Part 1 of Vol. XXVII, containing two papers: "The Salt Administration of Szechuan," by von Rosthorn, and "The Early Portuguese Commerce and Settlements in China," by Mr. Volpicelli; Part 1 of Vol. XXVIII, contains: "The Inland Communications of China," ably and carefully edited by Mr. Kingsmill from the various papers received in answer to our circular asking for information on the subject, and "Stray Notes on Corean History and Literature," by Mr. James Scott.

5.—*Officers' Reports.*—The Hon. Librarian reports that though we have had but a slight increase in our Library, still among the new books there are some of high value, *i.e.* thirteen Blue Books which have been loaned to us by H.B.M.'s Consul. The Hon. Curator reports favourably on the Museum. The services of a taxidermist have been secured, and existing specimens are cared for. Unfortunately they are diminishing, as the Museum receives few or

no specimens; as yet, foreigners in China are showing little interest in the institution. The Hon. Treasurer's report is as usual favourable, and our finances continue in a flourishing condition.

Z. VOLPICELLI,
Hon. Secretary.

Shanghai, 12th June.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

GENTLEMEN,

As may be seen on reference to the appended list of new acquisitions to our Library, only 22 books were contributed during the year under report; it must, however, be added that several of the numbers are of a high scientific value. Thirteen volumes of Blue Books have been entrusted to our Society by H.B.M.'s Consulate-General as a loan, on condition that they are available for the use of H.B.M.'s Consular officers at all times, and that they shall be returned immediately if so required. Though but a loan, the Society is thereby enabled to have the use of publications of a trustworthy and therefore valuable nature of the recent history, trade and industry of China and adjacent countries, and of travels undertaken by prominent Government officials. Your Librarian therefore considered it advisable to give in the catalogue a full Index of the Blue Books.

In spite of careful supervision and repeated admonitions and complaints, the abuse of borrowing more than three books and of taking out loose numbers of current publications continues, consequently our series of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan and the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society are incomplete, and the borrower is apparently unable or unwilling to return them.

The Library attached to the Museum has been put in thorough order, duly classified, and a Catalogue thereof compiled which will appear in our next journal.

During my temporary absence from Shanghai, Mr. B. R. A. Navarra has kindly undertaken to act for me as Librarian.

I have the honour to remain,
Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HAAS,
Hon. Librarian.

CURATOR'S REPORT.

Shanghai, 11th June 1895.

GENTLEMEN,

I am glad to say that the Museum's situation is slightly better than it was at the time of my last report (June 1894); the gap which I then complained of is now filled up. Thanks to Messrs. Lay, of Chinkiang, and Haas, of Hankow, I was able to engage in November a competent taxidermist, S. Chou, from Hankow. He has done till now good and useful work, and in the future the detrimental spreading of insects on the existing series will be effectually checked by his constant attention.

The spring cleaning compelled us to throw away a large number of specimens utterly ruined, and the collection is certainly decreasing, as the accessions were almost *nil;* in consequence, the scientific results were negative, and after all, had we had materials, researches would have been impeded by the lack of reference books which the catalogue of our library, compiled by Mr. von Haas, puts in evidence.

We could observe, however, the accidental appearance of northern birds much farther down in the south than they have ever been signalled previously during the winter months.

An unusual quantity of specimens were mounted for amateurs, which proves that they know our existence and our work, but forget our wants; moreover, the circular *re* Technological collection sent round with the Society's journal has not been answered; so we closed this year with a rather discouraging result, which I hope is not for long, as our friends' indifference may be awakened in the meantime.

Your obedient servant,

H. Vosy-Bourbon,
Hon. Curator.

Treasurer's Report.

Gentlemen,

In the absence of Mr. Thomas Brown, I beg herewith to present the audited accounts for the year ending 30th April 1895, of which there is very little to say.

It will be seen that while the income of the C.B.R.A.S. was slightly in excess of the previous year, the expenditure was also much greater, an increase over the amount spent during 1893-94 of Tls. 574.86, the printing and binding of the Society's Journals forming the principal item of expense, *viz.* Tls. 976.22.

The income and expenditure of the Museum is nearly the same as the preceding year, as it must be borne in mind that Tls. 1,000 which appears in last year's accounts was a repayment to the Recreation Fund.

J. P. Donovan.
Hon. Treasurer, pro tem.

BALANCE SHEET

Dr. *1st May 1894 to 30th April 1895.* *Cr.*

INCOME.	Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Tls.	cts.
To Balance from 1894	423	33	*By* Printing and Binding Journals	976	22
„ Subscriptions	771	60	„ Postage	85	09
„ Rent from A.D.C.	75	...	„ Stationery	28	63
„ „ „ Y.M.C.A.	41	70	„ Advertising	48	49
„ „ „ Museum	150	...	„ Municipal Taxes	30	36
„ Interest allowed by Bank	27	38	„ Insurance	25	...
„ Account Sales of the Journal	124	04	„ Library Purchases	66	...
			„ Gas and Coals	62	63
			„ Wages	99	63
			„ Shroff for Collecting	7	50
			„ Sundries	3	41
			„ Balance in Hongkong & Shanghai Bank ...	180	09
Taels	1,613	05	Taels	1,613	05

E. & O. E.

SHANGHAI, *30th April 1895.*

J. P. DONOVAN,
Hon. Treasurer, pro tem.

Audited and found correct, 10th June 1895.

A. W. DANFORTH.
HAROLD BROWETT.

Dr. MUSEUM. *Cr.*

INCOME.		Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.		Tls.	cts.
To Balance from 1894		707	83	*By* Taxidermist, Wages, etc.		133	09
„ Sale of Specimens		5	70	„ Printing		4	50
„ Donation from French Municipal Council ...		100	...	„ Interest on Loan		25	...
„ „ „ English „ „ ...		500	...	„ Rent		150	...
				„ Furniture		60	...
				„ Balance in Hongkong and Shanghai Bank ...		940	94
	Taels	1,313	53		Taels	1,313	53

E. & O. E.

SHANGHAI, *30th April 1895.*

Audited and found correct, 10th June 1895.

A. W. DANFORTH.
HAROLD BROWETT.

J. P. DONOVAN,
Hon. Treasurer, pro tem.

Mr. KINGSMILL proposed and Mr. NAVARRA seconded the adoption of the report and accounts, which was agreed to unanimously.

Upon the proposition of Mr. A. CUNNINGHAM, seconded by Mr. NAVARRA, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year :—

Mr. G. Jamieson, *President;* Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff, *Senior Vice-President;* Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., *Junior Vice-President;* Mr. Z. Volpicelli, *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. Vosy-Bourbon, *Hon. Curator;* J. Ritter von Haas, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. T. Brown, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Mr. Bullock, Dr. Forke and Dr. Faber, *Councillors.*

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Wednesday, 5th February* 1896, *at* 9 *p.m.*

The chair was taken by Mr. GEO. JAMIESON, and the proceedings were opened by reading the names of four new members, *viz.* Messrs. O'DOWD, JEFFERDS, GOTTSWALD and the Rev. G. H. BONDFIELD.

Dr. EDKINS then proceeded to read extracts from a paper, which was of considerable length, by Dr. LANDIS, entitled "The Tonghaks and their Doctrines."

The writer in the course of his remarks stated:—There is very little known about this new religion, and the paper read is translated from a small book which is most difficult to obtain, for if anyone is found with a copy in his possession he is guilty of a capital offence and is beheaded. The book is not a printed one,—only copied, and is done with Chinese pencil and ink. There are five other essays not given, as the meaning is so obscure, except to the initiated. The leader of this new sect was executed by order of the Government in the great persecution of Christians late in the Sixties, for though it did not teach Christianity, it was regarded by the Prince Regent to be equally obnoxious. The influence of the elementary Christian instruction the author had received is manifested throughout the book, it being full of Christian terms. The

Tonghaks during the last two years are supposed to have been the cause of the late war between China and Japan, for troops were sent from both countries to put down the Tonghak rising in the spring of 1894. It was in the beginning of that year that one of the Tonghak leaders was captured, and he confessed that the Japanese had furnished him and his men with both money and ammunition to resist the exactions of the officials. If this is true it puts an entirely new aspect on the beginning of the war, as it is known that Japan had been making preparations for a war with China for years before.

The book commences with an essay on "Displayed Virtue," which opens as follows :—"From the most ancient times until now, spring and autumn have alternated and succeeded each other. The four seasons have flourished and passed away each in its own proper time. These are the footprints of God's creation which are reflected to all under heaven," etc. Further on the essay goes on to say:—"He who reverences the Decrees of Heaven and is obedient to the over-ruling Providence will become a superior man. By study, the way of virtue is attained." Further on it proceeds to tell that in the year of Kyeng Sin, a man from the Western Seas (European) was preaching, when he was heard to say: "Have regard only to the will of God. Do not look for riches or honour, but look only for the proper government of all under heaven." Churches were built and people walked in the Way (became Christians) and I knew not whether to follow or no. For four months my heart was chilled and my body trembled and I became very ill. One day a fairy whispered in my ear and said: "Be not afraid, be not afraid. I am called by the people the Supreme Lord. Do you not know the Supreme Lord?" He further said: "Although I am without merit yet I wish you to teach the people this law. Do not fear." I asked if I was to teach people the Western way (Christianity). He said: "Certainly not. I have a charm which is called the Fairies' Drug. Its appearance is like the Great Absolute and it also resembles Kung Kung. This I will give to you and by its means you will cure diseases. If you

receive this charm and teach people to serve me I will give you long life and display your virtues to all the world." I was very grateful for these words, and taking the charm I ate some of it, and my illness was cured and my body gained flesh. I therefore knew that this was the drug of the gods. By using this charm afterwards I found that some persons were healed of their sickness and others did not recover. For a long time I could not tell why this was, but after carefully examining into all the cases I found that some were sincere and others were not. Those who served God with fervour became well, and those who were disobedient to the way of virtue did not recover. Why do men not receive this sincerely and reverently? It is on this account that our country is filled with all sorts of evil diseases, and throughout the four seasons there is no peace for the people. Now, it is the fate of the country to have losses and injuries. Those of the western ocean fight and win, they fight and they seize, and there are none of their undertakings which do not come to perfection, and all under heaven is completely destroyed." The author deprecates the fact that the people do not accept this new religion, after which a "Discussion of the Doctrine" is given, in which the author says:—"The Middle Kingdom is being destroyed [this refers to 1860 when the Allied Forces took Peking], and how can we avoid meeting with trouble? There is no other cause than this: The faith of the people, which is called The Doctrine of the West, or the Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, is a Holy Faith. These people both know the appointed times of Heaven and obey the decrees. By this they are able to overcome all things," etc. There are also a number of questions and answers given, among which is the following:—

Is there any difference between it [the doctrines of the Tonghaks] and the Faith of the West?

The Western faith resembles this, but yet there is a difference. Their prayers resemble ours, but yet they are not true. The destiny and faith of both are the same, but the principles are different.

A chapter on the "Cultivation of Virtue" is also given at some length, all of which shows that the author has evidently studied the Christian religion; but it is too long for us to give here.

After the paper had been read the CHAIRMAN called upon those present to make any remarks they could on the subject.

At the conclusion of the reading of the paper,

Mr. E. BRASS, on the invitation of the Chairman, stated that he had travelled in Korea in the year 1891, but there was no stir among the Tonghaks at that time. He had travelled in the northern and middle portions of Korea, and not in the southern, where the sect was better known, and he could not, therefore, expound views to any extent upon the subject. At the time he had passed through, however, there had been a great deal of ill-feeling against the officials, and a very little would have sufficed to create a rising.

Mr. VOLPICELLI remarked that there was an interesting article in the *Korean Repository* on the rise of the Tonghak sect. In that article it was mentioned that the founder of the new religion was beheaded by mistake in a persecution of the native Catholics. The judicial error was the cause of the hostility of the Tonghaks to the Government. Mr. Volpicelli then drew attention to the striking similarity between the Tonghaks and the Taipings. Both sects were founded by enthusiasts who had learned a little of European religion. The rebellions which they caused were accompanied by foreign wars, and the insurrection in either case was finally suppressed with foreign aid, in China by General Gordon, and in Korea by the Chinese and Japanese troops.

Dr. EDKINS said:—Tsui Tsiyu was the founder of the Tonghaks. He was born in Korea in 1826, and in 1861, when thirty-five years of age, obtained enlightenment and became conscious of a mission to teach. For teaching his new views he was beheaded in 1864. His brother, born in 1828, taught the same system. The younger upholders of the Tonghaks are Jan Kweihau and Lui Tsaitsin. This sect has chiefly flourished in Chingchow and

Pasen, that is, in that part of Korea which is nearest to Japan. The exactions of the officials cause indignation everywhere. There are many risings against them, of Tonghaks and others, who are often robbers, incendiaries and murderers. The book translated by Dr. Landis is called *Tungching*—Eastern Classics. The author believed himself inspired by God to teach men, and he was brought to this conviction by Christian agency. There was a great persecution of Christians in 1867, 1868 and 1869, and it was then he suffered death. I believe that the *Yiking* has more to do than Christianity with Tsui Chi-yu's thinking. But what Christianity taught him was the personality of God. This idea imparted a living force to the *Yiking* philosophy, which is that of the five elements and the compass of eight points. This thinker in South-eastern Korea thought over again some of the points in the *Yiking* philosophy, because he was stirred intellectually and morally by the Christian philosophy. But this was not all. The Sung dynasty philosophy was in the air all through the Yuen dynasty and the Ming dynasty, that is from 1260 to 1644. The Korean dynasty dates from A.D. 1391, when the Ming dynasty was firmly seated on the throne in China. I note the following points as being based on the *Yiking*. The law or teaching of Heaven (the *tora* of the Jews, the *yoso* of Mongols and Manchus, and the *ishiye* of the Japanese, the *tau* of the Chinese) is said to be eternal. "The footprints of Creation" is Taoistic and belongs to Chwangtsï. The Chiüntsï, superior man, is described in the *Yiking*. The five elements and the *Yin* and *Yang* are in the *Yiking*. The eight compass points with their corresponding trigrams and hexagrams are in the *Yiking*. In all this our author believes, but he holds too to the planchette. Spirits can be made to descend in answer to a prayer. He probably uses a prayer as the Buddhists do a dharani. He objects to prayer as Christians understand and practise it, because they ask for personal benefits. He denies that they know the true doctrine of the Lord of Heaven. He says Christians cannot become spirits and move through space. He taught the use of a medicine to confer immortality. He had tried

this himself and found that it did him great good. On others it was not so beneficial because, he says, they had not faith. These then were the points in which he differed from Christianity. He believed in a medicine of immortality, in the teaching of the *Yiking* and of the Taoists. He believed in the existence of the immortals or *sien jen.*

At first this religious teacher approved of animal sacrifices. If flesh is used, he says, pheasants and pork may he offered; sweet wine, vermicelli, fish, fruit, dried meat and vegetables. Incense and candles are necessary after spreading out the offerings, four prostrations are made and the prayer is recited, *viz*, the sacrificial prayer. Besides this there is the prayer for the descent of the spirits and the original prayer of twenty-one words. Afterwards he prescribed the use of all kinds of flesh. This was from 1863, when he began to preach in deference to Buddhism. He was beheaded in 1864. The charge against him was that he taught the religion of the Western Barbarians.

The three chapters of the volume are headed: I—Setting forth of virtuous power. Footprints of God in creation. God is Tienchu. Order and law in the Universe. The *sien jen* whispered, "Be not afraid, I am the Supreme Lord." He gave him the fairy drug. [Here his Taoism appears and his belief in special revelation to himself by a *sien* (fairy) who represents God.] This chapter states the origin of the author's mission. Dr. Landis thinks that Shangti is here an inferior spirit, while Tienchu is the Supreme Deity. I prefer to view this as an angelic appearance to represent God, revealing his will to the author: God appears in angel form. This is suggested by the *Shihki* and *Shiking* accounts. The *Yiking* has no divine appearances, nor has the *Liki* or the other classics. But the *Shï* has divine revelations. When the author gives the name of *T'aichi* to the medicine of immortality which confers spiritual power and enlightenment, he shows that he is under the influence of the Sung dynasty philosophy. This philosophy produced remarkable effects on Japanese literature in the latter part of the 17th century. Professor Clay McCarthy, in a recent

lecture on the language of Japan, says that there was a rich revival of literary power caused by the study of the profound and admirable Chinese literature of the Sung dynasty. This age was the golden age of Japanese literature. It is very interesting to find the same literature of the Sung dynasty in China operating in Korea to check the force of Buddhism. This is really the cause of the restriction laid upon the Buddhists by Korean legislators. The King would never have made a law to shut out the Buddhists from the cities where they love to remain in order that they may perform liturgical services at funerals and in times of drought and pestilence, but for the influence of the Sung philosophy. It was taught in schools; it was accepted by the literati; it caused religious persecution; it made the Korean literati the enemies of Buddhism. Yet the authors of the Sung philosophy at home were tolerant men who criticised Buddhism in books, but encouraged idolatry in practice as a method for keeping the people in a state of quiet.

We find this Vegetarian leader adopting Sung dynasty ideas. He makes much of the *Yiking*, of the *T'aichi*, of the five elements, as did Shao Yaufu, who had so much to do in giving force, character and currency to the Sung philosophy.

II.—In the second chapter the author discusses the *Eastern Doctrine*, as he calls his system. He adopts the *Yiking* view of the Universe, before which Confucius bowed submissively. Neither he himself nor Chuhi, his great follower, really cared for the five elements or the eight trigrams except as symbols of the power of heaven and watchwords of the wise men of antiquity. Confucius and Chuhi are both moral philosophers by preference. In this discussion he gives his views, which are those of the *Yiking*. He also states, in question and answer, what passed between him and the official inquirers into the nature of his opinion. He shews why he did not become a Christian.

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure that all present were much obliged to Dr. Landis for his interesting paper; and the meeting terminated.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Friday, 8th March* 1895, *at* 9 *p.m.*

The Rev. J. EDKINS, D.D., read a paper on "The Aborigines of South-Western China: their History, their Religion and their Languages."

The Lecturer, in the course of his Paper, said that the Chinese native student, accustomed to the history of his country, looks upon his race as aboriginal in the north only. The traditions of early times with which he is familiar are those of the regions watered by the Yellow River and the parts north of the Yang-tze-kiang. He does not perplex his mind with the question whether his race came from the West or not, and is content to believe, as the rough result of very little thought, that the natives of the world were originally produced in the countries they now occupy, by the creating power of heaven and earth. The extreme east and entire south of China he regards as the ancient patrimony of certain barbarous tribes respecting whose ethnic affinities neither he nor any native scholar of preceding generations cares or has cared to enquire. He simply knows them as "Eastern Barbarians," Tung I, or "Southern Resisters," Nanman, or he merely calls them the Miau, *i.e.* "Aborigines." Like most nations having an ancient literature, the Chinese author loves to etymologise. This word Miau is applied to green grain that has just shot above the soil. He supposes the tribes receive this generic name in allusion to their origin from the ground. The Miau tribes have excited considerable interest among ethnologists on account of their inaccessibility. To classify their dialects has been a problem which hitherto scarcely a solitary attempt has been made to solve. They are, as speaking a monosyllabic language and occupying South China before the Chinese, the object of extreme curiosity, and must continue to be so till the question of the comparative chronology and ethnic connections of the Eastern races is settled. Proceeding to deal with their history, Dr. Edkins said, that about B.C. 800 Siuen Wang, one of the Emperors, ordered an expedition against

the Nanman or Southern Barbarians who were spread over the South of China. His army numbered about 30,000 men, and the barbarians, alarmed at the news of Chinese victories in the north, submitted without resistance. About B.C. 200, when the feudal system was subverted in China, and the present mode of government established, the whole country was brought under real or nominal subjection. The Miau tribes of to-day should be looked upon as identical with the Nanman of ancient times, and there were also indications to connect them with the mountain tribes of Hainan and of the Cochin-Chinese peninsula. The most widely spread national designation was Li, which was that of the Hainan aborigines and of some of the Kueichow tribes, and was probably the same with the word Laos given to a part of the subjects of the Siamese Kings. The Li or Lo family might be said to include the Karens, the Laos, the Li of Hainan and, judging from many of their tribe names, the Miautsze. The Formosan dialects are known to be connected with the languages of the Philippine Islands and are of the Malay-Polynesian family, without tones and moderately polysyllabic. In the province of Yunnan the aboriginal tribes are divided into two sorts of Lolo, the black and the white, distinguished by the colour of their costumes, besides eighteen other clans. The name of an old kingdom in Corea, Sin-lo or Tin-la, is regarded by the Chinese as that of an eastern extension of the same race. The Miau people had diminished as the Chinese had increased, and the regions occupied by them have become very much limited to the mountains of the south-west, especially in Yunnan, Kuangsi and Kueichow. They have since the Christian era on some occasions formed kingdoms which acknowledged the feudal superiority of China. About the time of the Christian era the T'ien people of Yunnan were regarded by the Chinese as belonging to the Mimok race, then occupying Burma. The celebrated Chu Koliang, much spoken of in the romance of *The Three Kingdoms*, invaded their country and reduced them to subjection, and it was then that this region first received the name of Yunnan. This was about the year A.D. 220, and very near the

time when the second embassy from a Roman emperor reached Nanking from Europe, as recorded in the Chinese annals. Two centuries later the Liau in the modern Szechuan were very numerous and powerful. Under the Tang and Sung dynasties the Li race in the south part of Szechuan were a formidable people. The word Li was said to mean mountain. The department of Talifu, near the Burmese frontier, derived its name in the same way. This part of China was ruled in the Tang dynasty a thousand years ago by a native aboriginal government, the head of which called himself chief of the Tali kingdom. This nation in Yunnan was subsequently conquered by the first Mongol Emperor, Kublai Khan. The insubordination of which the Chinese complain in the Miau tribes is frequently caused by the oppressions of the Chinese themselves. The Miau have many secure retreats in their mountain homes. Here some of them love to erect towers, in the upper storey of which is placed a drum. In times of general alarm this is beaten, and the villagers within hearing all assemble with pikes and swords to place themselves under the orders of their chiefs at the drum-towers. If anyone beats the drum without cause he pays a bullock as a forfeit, which is kept for public use. Some of the people use poisoned arrows, and become formidable from their expertness in wielding the cross-bow when thus provided. The last insurrection was ended about two years ago in a complete Chinese victory. Some tribes have a kind of writing. From examples of Lolo writing, which were obtained by Mr. Colborne Baber, it is concluded that it is phonetic and consists of not quite forty characters. It is also alphabetical. We must suppose the Buddhists were their instructors. With regard to classifying the languages, Logan, in dividing the languages of Tibet and the Indo-Chinese peninsula into two branches, the Eastern and Western Himalaic, has furnished us with the means of classifying the Miau dialects very conveniently. The dialects of the Miau tribes proper, the oldest and most numerous, may be classed with the Annamese, Siamese, Cambodian and with some of the Karen tribes. The dialects of the Lolo, etc. should rather be placed with the Burmese and Tibetan, and

be looked on as Western Himalaic in their characteristics and vocabulary. As to religion, the Miau people are many of them Buddhists. They have among them professed monks answering to the *talapoins* of Siam. They use images and keep festivals which correspond to those of southern Buddhism. Their kinship with the Siamese has been more powerful in moulding their religion than the near neighbourhood of Chinese Buddhism and the constant witnessing of Chinese ceremonies. So strong indeed is the resemblance of some things among the Miau tribes to what is known to exist among the Siamese that in the absence of direct testimony we may expect to find that intercourse across the border is frequent. So far as their religious practices are not Buddhist, they may be referred to the old Asiatic religion, of which we find branches in the Shamanism of Siberia, in the Taoism of China, in the Shinto of Japan, in the old Bod religion of Tibet, and in the religion of the ancient Persians as described by Herodotus. Of this religion wizards are the priests, and the spirits of heaven and earth, the sun and moon, the mountains and rivers, the divinities. Its most important duty is sacrifice to ancestors, and its highest success to bring the spirits that animate all nature by means of the contortions of the wizard or otherwise into felt and almost visible contact with the souls of the worshippers. It adores tablets and, in its older forms, knows nothing of images. It believes in the continued existence of the soul after death and its presence in the vicinity of the tomb or in the old haunts of the individual man to whom it once belonged; that existence can be lengthened by virtuous conduct. No distinct heaven or hell was recognised by any ancient form of this religion.

A paper on "The Gathering of the Clans, being a description of a religious dance performed by the Black Miaotsze of Kueichow," by Mrs. Pruen, of the China Inland Mission, was also read.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held on Wednesday night, June 10th, 1896, in the Society's Hall, at 9 p.m.

Owing to the inclemency of the weather there was but a small attendance.

The first business of the evening was the election of officers for the next year, which resulted as follows :—

Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff, *President;* Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D., Mr. James Scott, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. Thomas Brown, *Hon. Treasurer;* J. Ritter von Haas, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. F. A. de St. Croix, *Hon. Curator of the Museum;* Mr. A. Bottu, Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Rev. E. Faber, D.Th., Dr. A. Forke, Dr. Jur., *Members of the Council.*

After the election, Dr. EDKINS read a Paper by N. RONDOT, Esq., of Lyons, France, on "The Chinese Coins and Small Porcelain Bottles found in Egypt." The learned author was some forty years ago a resident of China and has ever since taken a deep interest in things Chinese. His attention was called to this subject by reading the report of a paper on the same theme by Dr. EDKINS, read before the China Branch of the R.A.S. a short time before.* Mr. RONDOT said that the whole subject had been thoroughly investigated some forty years ago, and in his present Paper reviewed the evidence, showing that all the bottles and coins were of comparatively recent date, none being earlier perhaps than the 8th century A.D. Many of the bottles were decorated with verses from the poets of the T'ang dynasty. The opinions expressed were in the main in full agreement with those of Dr. Edkins.

After a brief discussion, Mr. THOS. BROWN read a Paper prepared by Mr. T. L. BULLOCK, H.B.M.'s Consul at Chefoo, reviewing Mr. W. W. ROCKHILL's work, "A Journey through Mongolia and Thibet."

* Vide *Journal of C.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. xxvii, p. 247.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Wednesday, October* 21*st*, 1896, *at* 9 *p.m.*

Mr. P. G. VON MÖLLENDORFF (President) occupied the chair.

The PRESIDENT announced the election of the following persons to membership since the last meeting:—Mr. E. J. L. Litton, Dr. W. A. Duncan Cooper, Mr. Allister Duncan, Capt. A. E. Knights and Rev. William Musson.

Dr. JOSEPH EDKINS read a Paper on "The Relations of Copper and Silver in China."

Copper mines, said the author, are worked at present in Yunnan, but copper in the T'ang dynasty was found in great abundance in Hunan. There is a notice of it in the year A.D. 808 in the south-west part of the province, near the city of Yuen-cheu. No fewer than 180 pits formerly worked were found here. Two furnaces were set up and twenty strings of cash a day were produced. This is 7,000 strings in a year.* In A.D. 780, in Kiangsu, 45,000 strings were made in a year, and each string consisted of 2,000 cash. At that time six catties of copper were used in making a string of 1,000 cash,† and this was the usual number in a string. In the year 621, it is said in the *Chieu T'ang-Shu*,‡ ten cash weighed one tael and 1,000 cash weighed six catties and four taels. A cash of that time was eight-tenths of an inch wide and one-twelfth of a tael in weight. Later on they were an inch wide and the weight the same. Copper cash will depreciate, whatever people may do to prevent it, and prices will rise. This fact was to the people difficult to account for. Why should rice and millet rise in price and cash depreciate? They concluded that too many cash were made and ceased to use the furnaces. In the Sung dynasty, in western Szechuen, 300 cash were exchangeable with one piece of silk. Ten bundles of straw were worth 20 cash.

In the history of the Golden Tartars, A.D. 1115 to A.D. 1234, copper cash are still in use, but with paper notes also. It was in

* 舊唐書, 48, 13, 4, and 48, 12, 17. † *Chieu T'ang-Shu*, 48, 12, 23.
‡ *Chieu T'ang-Shu*, 48, 7, 24.

A.D. 1196 that paper notes were first issued on a large scale by edict of the Emperor Chang-ti (Ming Chang). For instance, the people were commanded to take from the pawnshops as loans on their pledges paper notes issued by the Government for any sum above 1,000 cash. This method would insure a wide circulation of their notes, for in China almost all the people pawn clothing and other articles for the use of ready money. We learn from the Sung annals that silk piece goods were exchanged for copper cash from about A.D. 1132 as a daily matter of negotiation. In 1129 a piece of silk was changed for 2,000 cash. At present, 750 years later, the same article is changed for $5 to $8, or from 4,500 cash to 7,500 cash. The price has risen to be three times what it was. Since the article is the same, and the machinery used has not changed much, the movement towards cheapness must be in the money used. I conclude therefore that copper cash are three times cheaper than they were 750 years ago. The cause of this depreciation is to be sought in the manufacture of enormous numbers of cash. It is practically impossible precisely to meet the demand. The demand depends on the eagerness and indifference of buyers and sellers. An average, if it could be taken, of all the markets of a country would give the exact demand, but that it is impossible to obtain. Money, therefore, must always be liable to depreciation when its price is not held up by special eagerness of buyers. This is the reason that a piece of silk is now, as it appears, three times dearer than it was 750 years ago. The fact is that the money of the country is cheaper now than formerly through over supply. This price of silk goods lasted for a long time. In the Yuen dynasty also 1,000 cash was the price of a tael of silver and of a piece of silk. This is in accord with the prices before and after that time. Rice could be bought in K'ai-feng-fu, the capital, at the rate of ten catties for 40 cash. This fact is given by the historian under the year A.D. 1069. It is now, in the year 1896, sold at 300 cash for ten catties.* That is to say, rice is seven times

* On December 7th, 1899, rice sells at $3.8.0 or 356 cash for ten catties. Rice requires nine times more money to buy than was needed 750 years ago.

dearer than it was 750 years ago. But probably rice was unusually cheap just then. The agriculture was much the same then as now. The difference is not in the mode of labour. It is entirely in the money in circulation and in the local demand.

Silver and gold,* we are told, were, in 1094, bought with the cash received as taxes for Government use. So it was with silk. The army at that time had to be supplied with plain silk clothing or with grass cloth. It was not yet the day of cotton gowns. In Kiangsi at that time there was a large production of silk.† The area of silk production shrunk with the progress of cotton. The very provinces where a new effort is now being made to produce silk, *viz.* Hupei, Hunan, Canton, Fuhkien and Kiangsi, are particularly mentioned in the Sung history as paying their taxes partly in silk.‡

Silver is rarely mentioned till the 12th century. Yet in one passage, about A.D. 1000, the sum of Tls. 300,000 silver is set apart for the relief of the people on the frontier by buying millet for them.§ When a treaty was made in A.D. 1142 the Chinese envoy consented that the Hwai river should be the boundary of the empire, and China would pay annually Tls. 250,000 in silver and in silk. This silver is easily accounted for by the Canton foreign trade. At that time trade had been carried on by the Arabs for about 1,000 years, and silver begins to appear as a factor in Chinese commercial statistics in the History of the Golden Tartars. In the year A.D. 1219, which was about the time when Genghis Khan began his remarkable career, a Customs superintendent of those days, styled Ho-hwo-sz,¶ advised the emperor to tax oil. This would produce several ten thousand taels annually of silver. Others in the council opposed the idea, and as a consequence the suggestion was not carried out. In the year 1195 the money prepared by the Tartar monarch to reward his army consisted of Tls. 500,000 of silver and 236,900 strings of

* *Sung Hist.*, 128, 4. † *Sung Hist.*, 128, 5. ‡ *Sung*, 128, 7.
§ *Sung Shi*, 128, 11, 5. ¶ 榷貨司.

cash. Where did the silver come from? It must have been the effect of Mohammedan trade. The Seljukian Turks had in 1028 conquered the kingdom of Persia from the Khalifs, but the Turks became Mohammedan. Trade continued as before. The consequence was that silver was always entering China to pay for silks, porcelain, medicines and other favourite objects. The Arab merchants dealt in precious stones, coral, rose water, pearls, opium, vermillion, asafœtida, pepper, spices and various other products of Persia and Arabia. They had with them silver to pay for Chinese produce. Trade was favoured by the success of the Seljuks, the Kietans, the Nüchen Tartars themselves, who took the name of the Golden Dynasty. Silver would be welcome to a nation like the Chinese, devoted to commerce, and compelled from the want of precious metals to use paper money.

When the Mongols conquered China in A.D. 1260 a tael of silver was worth 1,000 cash. In the year 1310, when the name of the year was *chi-ta*, under the emperor Wu-tsung, one cash was one *li*, that is, the tenth part of a candareen, or the 1,000th part of a tael. Here then we have solid ground to go upon in determining the prices of silver. Paper notes were inscribed 1,000 cash, 500 cash, 200, 100, 50 or 10 cash. But as a support to the paper currency new cash were made by Wu-tsung. One kind was a five-cash piece with a Mongol superscription, the other a small kind with a Chinese legend.*

The copper coins of Hung-wu, A.D. 1368, are one mace in weight and narrow; those of Yunglo are wider and their weight $\frac{8}{10}$ ths of a mace.† Some cash since that time have weighed one mace six candareens. In theory 10,000 cash are made out of 100 catties of metal, but in fact there are only 60 catties actually used. The paper notes called *ch'ao*, in the Chin, Yuen and Ming dynasties, as a rule represented cash and not silver. Yet as 1,000 cash exchanged for a tael of silver, it was much the same thing as if they had represented silver. But there are also paper notes for silver.

* *Kechï-king-yuen*, Ch. 35, p. 15. † *Kechï-king-yuen*, Ch. 35, p. 12.

Paper notes for 100 cash continued in use down to about A.D. 1436. After that time the *ch'ao* are not heard of. The price of silver in cash when iron cash were mixed with copper cash was 1,700, and the price of a piece of silk in mixed iron and copper cash was 1,200. 1,000 iron cash were added to 400 copper cash and the remaining 300 were probably mixed in the same proportion. But iron cash were never more than a temporary expedient, and they had only a local circulation and that for a limited time. The real value of silver as stated in copper cash was, as is mentioned by Colonel Yule in his edition of Marco Polo, uniformly in those times, 1,000. This was also the understood price of a piece of silk, as already stated.

The difference between the usage of the Golden Tartars and of the Mongols in regard to the currency is stated by a native author.* The Golden Tartars used both copper cash and paper notes. The Mongols tried to use paper only. The Golden Tartars had notes whose value was as low as 100 cash. The Mongols made some of their notes the equivalent of not more than five cash. It was an ineffectual effort on their part to carry on the government without a metallic basis for the currency. The Mohammedans would, when in China, gladly use these notes because they were travelling merchants by profession. Copper cash when depreciated are heavy and impracticable for the use of travellers. They had difficulty in the use of silver in Persian and Arabian trade. Since the notes of the Peking Treasury could not circulate beyond China proper, the Mohammedan traders, whether Persians, Turks, or Arabians, brought silver with them along with western goods to buy the Chinese exports of the time. In China itself the Mohammedan would be glad to use the paper notes of the Treasury of Peking.

We see then how silver forced its way into China. It was because six catties of copper had the value of one ounce or tael of silver. The trader will not be troubled to carry such a weight

* 鈔幣芻言 by a Soochow author writing in 1831.

of copper about with him. The silver used in Persian, Indian, Arabian and Syrian trade was brought to China by Mohammedans and melted down into the forms that silver now takes in China, whether as sycee or yuenpao. Then the struggle came between paper and silver. Because the North China Government had very little copper they introduced paper representatives of copper cash. South China had copper in Hunan, Chekiang and Yunnan, and the demand for paper money by South China was therefore not so urgent as in North China. The dynasty in North China being foreign, trade with the west was naturally encouraged. This brought caravans of merchants who came with silver to buy Chinese produce, but there was not a very large quantity of it. It was not sufficient to become the currency of a nation of 60,000,000 of industrious people. It was necessary to wait for the silver of Mexico. Yet the Golden Tartars, when they captured K'ai-feng-fu, found a good store of silver there. Silver also was spread through the country wherever the effect of foreign trade was felt, and was in the hands of the rich, who found its utility unquestionable, because one tael of it can purchase a hundred taels weight of copper.

In A.D. 1498 Vasco de Gama reached India, and in the course of a few years Canton was visited by Portuguese ships. European traders brought with them American silver which was now supplied in abundance from Mexico. This introduction of silver worked a complete change in the financial system of China. This appears from the tariff printed in the *Tung-si Yang-kao*, a work of the year 1580. The tonnage dues of vessels was 5 taels a foot for ships 16 feet broad and under. It was $5\frac{1}{2}$ taels for ships 17 feet broad, and 6 taels for 18 feet. The largest vessels mentioned are 26 feet in width, and the highest sum paid in tonnage was Tls. 260, and Japanese vessels paid $\frac{3}{10}$ths less tonnage than European vessels. Pepper was $\frac{1}{4}$ of a tael per picul; ivory not carved $\frac{1}{2}$ a tael, carved one tael; opium 2 mace on every ten catties, this is 2 taels a picul; bullocks' skins, 4 tael cents for ten; blacklead, 4 tael cents a picul; cocoanuts, 2 tael cents for 100. This belongs to the year 1589. Twenty-six years afterwards the amount of

revenue was Tls. 27,087. The emperor reduced this to Tls. 23,400 as a favour to traders. Among the reductions, one is upon opium, which instead of Tls. 2, becomes Tls. 1.7.3. We learn from Barbosa, who wrote in the 16th century, that pepper at Malacca cost four ducats, *i.e.* about $4 (say 4/6) per hundredweight. This was sold in China for 15 ducats. If we call this 11 taels the duty, a quarter of a tael will be 2¼ per cent *ad. val.* In those days no one thought of charging more duty than this on pepper. On copper, the duty was 15½ tael cents per picul, or six times as much as it was 200 years ago.

Let me now speak of the relative prices of copper and silver. The late relation was 100 taels of copper to a tael of silver, because six catties and four taels make 1,000 cash, which passed for the value of a tael of silver. In A.D. 1724 copper was bought for the mint at Wuchang at Tls. 17.5 per picul.* This amount of copper would, at six catties per 1,000, be sufficient for 16,000 cash. Copper had become a little dearer, taking silver as the standard of value. Otherwise why should a memorial state to the Emperor that a hundred catties of copper would cost Tls. 17.5? But now in Canton copper is rated at Tls. 14 per picul. At Foochow it is rated in the Customs publications at Tls. 16 per picul. Surely this is not an unimportant effect. The relation between copper and silver has been steadily maintained through several centuries in China, that is to say, in A.D. 1300, six catties weight of cash passed for a tael of silver; A.D. 1724, 100 catties weight of copper cost Tls. 17½ silver; A.D. 1895, 100 catties of copper cost about 16 to 16½ taels of silver. In the Shanghai trade report in 1895 it was Tls. 17 silver.

It was above its true value during the T'aip'ing rebellion, when there was an eager demand for it. That demand has been vastly increased by the opium trade, because the baneful practice of opium-smoking

* *See* Yung Cheng's Edicts 硃批諭旨 29th vol., p. 76, 8,000 catties of copper cost 900 taels of silver. A picul of copper cost Taels 11.25 in the year 1724. In the Tang dynasty, A.D. 781, 3,000 cash were paid for 100 catties of wine and 2,000 cash for 100 catties of rice. This was a time of great scarcity.

compels men to buy silver at all risks. So, too, the prosperity of the tea trade and the silk trade formerly drove up the value of silver. All these four causes were at work to bolster up the price of silver. The same eagerness for silver has not been displayed recently. It has therefore fallen so that a tael of silver as rated in copper is no longer 1,000, 1,600 or 1,400 cash, but 1,265 only. It is likely to fall further through the love of the people for silver dollars having cooled down.

The enhanced price of gold during the last century is mentioned in the *Tung-hwa-lu.** Formerly ten ounces of silver were worth one ounce of gold. In the year A.D. 1782 there was a case of gold being confiscated in Chekiang province. Instead of sending gold, which was 4,740 taels in weight, the Viceroy sent silver, and it amounted to Tls. 73,594; this is exchanged at 15½. This is a noteworthy fact, for it shows the value of silver in Europe in the last century. The ratio between gold and silver in Europe was in 1801 to 1810, 15.61. The ratio now asked for by bimetallists is 15½. They ask the governments to make this by legislation the standard rate. If it be asked why it came about that China had this ratio in the year 1782, it may be said that foreign trade accounts for it. The European trade at Canton and Amoy caused a demand. It was exported in response to that demand to an extent sufficient to raise its value from 10, the old ratio, to 15½, the ratio of 1782. There is another mention of the price of gold in the same year in Chinese history. It says the best gold is changed for about 20 times its weight in silver. This shows the gold varied according to quality between 15½ to 20 as its price in silver. The result of this inquiry may now be briefly stated. Silver when in last December it fell to 1,200 cash per tael, did not reach its old value, which was 1,000 cash. Yet 100 catties of copper will make 16,000 cash at six catties per 1,000, and this copper costs now Tls. 16, as stated in Customs publications. In 1724 copper was also bought in China at the rate of Tls. 17 per picul.† This

* *Tung-hwa-lu*, Ch., 27, p. 20, col., 28. † In 1898 it was Taels 20·08.

shows that copper has reversed its old relation to silver very nearly. The silver was valued above its intrinsic worth for fifty years through the avidity of the Chinese for opium, and the prosperity of the tea and silk trade. There are difficulties connected with the establishment of a silver currency. Thus, on October 17th, 1895, it was stated in the *Sinwenpao*, that the shops at Wuhu will not accept the Hupeh new dollars at their official value. The Viceroy ordered in his proclamation that they should be received at all Custom houses and that they should be issued in payments made officially. He also ordered the people to receive them and pay them at their official value. Lately a large supply was sent for to Wuhu because last winter there was a great lack of cash there. The small silver coins had already obtained circulation, but a few days ago Carolus dollars and Mexicans have been changed for silver at six mace and seven to eight candareens less. The Mexican changed for 930 to 940 cash, the Hupeh ten cents pieces are now changed for 88 to 89 cash, the Hupeh dollars are current at ten times this amount, that is, they realize not more than 890 cash. Besides this a discount is charged for defects in the silver. The old cash are found by the people to be much better. They rise and fall in price, but no discount is charged.

The circumstances show that the new Chinese dollars cannot be forced into easy circulation at the present time. There is a disadvantage which will occur at once to the reflecting observer in trying to compel people to take certain coined money because the official authority commands it. Disobedience becomes a common thing, and authority is brought into contempt. It is better to wait. Perhaps we may say, let the people have a voice in a representative assembly. Let there be currency legislation in such an assembly, and the probability is that the unwillingness to obey the law will disappear. Silver currency will then be easy. At present copper currency is enjoying the popular favour. The people like to use copper cash. It is best for the Government to conform to the people's will and supply them with sufficient copper cash for their use.

It appears from the facts here set forth, then, that silver came to China as currency first through foreign trade, and for a long time remained at an exchange of 1,000 cash per tael weight. During the present century it rose to 1,850 cash, but has now again fallen, through the effect of foreign trade, to nearly its old value. It is at present a cheap commodity in China, and cannot long retain its present high value. Being cheap to buy at the open ports, it is cheap to sell in the interior of China. If, then, silver is to rise again in relation to gold, this must be by the action of Western Governments.

Viceroys and Governors are at present anxious to increase the value of silver in order to make a profit by the new mints, but this cannot be accomplished without legislative action, whereby silver will come into use in countries where it has lately been abandoned. The supply of silver dollars by the provincial mints of China is at present, in part, a failure, as the shroffs and money-changers deduct a percentage from money which does not conform to their standard, and it is impossible by legislative means to root out these ideas, which, as we know from other channels, are so firmly held in China. It seems safe to forecast that silver will never fall much lower in relation to cash in China, for which we may be thankful. This fluctuation between dollars and cash is an unexplained grievance to the working people, who cannot comprehend its reason.

Therefore, the best course will be for China to strive to raise the price of silver in relation to gold. China has to pay her debts in gold, and if the price of silver be raised, her taxes of all sorts, whether collected in cash or silver, will count for more in meeting her often recurring calls, and the native merchants will have fewer inroads on their small stores of silver. All the influence of China should be directed toward urging the treaty powers to unite to raise the value of silver, which however, should be done slowly, so as to prevent undue strain upon the gold standard countries. Still all history shows that uniformity in the laws which govern commerce will more and more appear as years roll on. In secluded Japan, with no commerce, gold was nearly on a par

with silver. Commerce broke the isolation, and now gold has attained thirty times the value of silver.* Europe and Asia must and ought to be united under one system of monetary usage. Currency laws should be so made that the interests of the various races and nations may be fairly considered, and the way thrown open for the benefits of an enlightened civilization to be equally enjoyed by all. It is philosophical and it is Christian to deal justly by all classes of the people whether they are rich or whether they are poor.

General MESNY said although he was indebted to Dr. Edkins for the able Paper just read, wherein was shown that copper was the standard currency of China, still he fancied China acknowledged silver also to be the currency; at the same time, he confessed that cash appears to have been the standard currency of the realm, that is, in the Yangtsze Valley from Tsungming right up into Hunan and Hupeh.

After some further discussion the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to Dr. Edkins and the Chairman, proposed by General MESNY and seconded by Mr. VOLPICELLI.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Thursday, November 26th, 1896, at 9 p.m.*

The President announced the election of two new members, *viz.* the Rev. J. C. Ferguson and Prof. F. D. Gamewell.

Mr. T. W. KINGSMILL then read a valuable Paper on "Traces of the Origin of Chinese Writing," of which the following is a brief summary.

* December 8th, 1899. Gold is now 35·2 times the price of silver. Japan and India have become gold countries. Yet in China, silver currency by weight is unshaken. Year after year the same weight of silver is exchanged for the same number of copper cash in the Shanghai market. In this sense all China holds firmly to copper and silver currency.

Much has been written [said Mr. Kingsmill] on the origin of the Chinese written character. Few, however, have gone to the fountain head, but have been content to take their illustrations from a late period, when the structure of the written character had already become crystalized, and to assume the existence of the same conditions in more ancient times. The Chinese writers merely borrow from one another. Brief reference was made to a work by Père Amiot, written in 1764 and published in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, remarkable for its day but of no especial value to us. As a matter of course the origins of writing cannot become a matter of history, since history cannot exist till writing has become a medium for recording events. China presents a marked antithesis to other nations, which have handed down vast architectural remains to tell of their former greatness. Not so China. With the exception of a few pagodas, the oldest of which scarcely dates back a thousand years, no architectural remains of any sort are to be found.

The destruction of the Summer Palace at Peking swept away the most interesting collection of antiquities in the Empire. Fortunately the despised and ignorant Chinese archæologist has with greater or lesser skill preserved the records of many works of art now hopelessly lost; and these drawings, rude at first and not improved by continual copying, still afford us valuable information as to the progress of the arts and more especially the growth of a written literature in China.

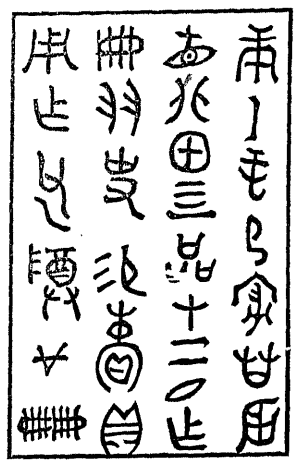
These remains consist of inscriptions on stones, bricks, and earthenware, of dedicatory marks on ancient vases, and the legends of antique coins. Of these probably the most interesting and instructive are the cartouches marking the ancient sacrificial vases, the inscriptions on which lead up to a period anterior to any suggestion of phonetic connection between the object and the pure ideograph by which it is represented. These cartouches were only slowly developed and modified so as to represent language even in an imperfect form.

Reference was made by the lecturer to the ancient tradition of the use of the quipus before written agreements came into vogue, and a comparison was made with the similar custom among the ancient peoples of America, where the ideographs of later times had no

apparent connection with the quipus but seemed to be of independent origin. The speaker did not, however, mean to imply any ethnological connection between the two peoples. In 1851, P. P. Thoms, formerly H.B.M. Consul at Ningpo, published "A Dissertation on the Ancient Chinese Vases," being excerpts from the *Po Ku T'u* 博古圖, the latter a work in 16 vols. with several hundred plates of vases, jugs, etc., alleged to belong to the Shang, Chow and Han dynasties.

Fig. 1, from this work, is an inscription found on a *ting* which belongs to the transitional style and cannot be regarded as of the oldest, since it has already in part assumed the character of written language though retaining much of its ideographic peculiarity.

Fig. 1.

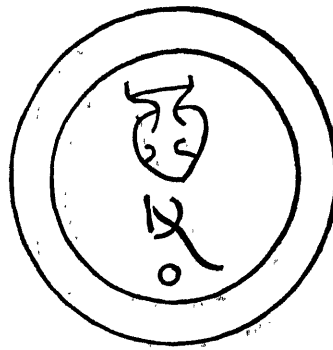


We are here concerned only with the last column, rendered in modern Chinese by 用作父乙尊○册册, "For use in the *Yih* sacrifice to ancestors; a record." The characters transcribed *fu yih*, *fu kwei*, *fu kang*, etc. are of frequent occurrence on these antique vases. They are said to have been used by the ancient Chinese as indicating the dynasty to which they belong, *yih* for instance being supposed to indicate the so-called "Shang dynasty," of whose existence indeed there is no proof. These characters *yih*, *kwei*, *kang*, etc., as is well-known, are those of

the Ten Stems and indicate a denary division of the year once in use from Italy to China. We shall therefore put aside this native reference of various vases to certain dynasties as without proof, and adopt an arrangement founded on the internal evidence of the signatories, which we shall find progressive from picture writing to the conventional representation of the sounds of the language.

He also in the paper referred to a well-known native work, the *Kin Shih So*, republished in 1822 with numerous facsimiles of ancient vases, coins, etc. Fig. 2 is from this work [chap. 1, No. 17]—

Fig. 2.



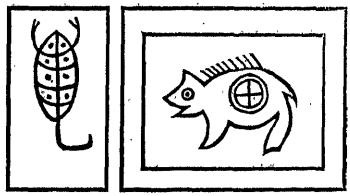
We have here one of the same ideographs as found in Fig. 1, 父 which stands for father or ancestor. The circle at the bottom is the oldest form of 丁 one of the Ten Stems. The amphora-like jar at the top is the original of the fifth character in the left hand column of Fig 1, and the inscription may be rendered: "A wine vase for use in sacrificing to ancestors."

The form of this first character as given in Fig. 1 leads by a natural gradation to that given in the *Ku Wen*, which came to be associated with the sound *tsun*, represented now by 尊, meaning "to honour" or "honourable." The lecturer analyzed in a similar way a number of inscriptions which gave the primitive forms of others of the Ten Stems. These characters are in marked contrast to the picture writing. Already in the oldest inscriptions they have an

arbitrary form, more conventionalized indeed than the modern twelve signs of the zodiac. This decimal division of time is older than the duodenary, and we have here probably the remains of the original signs worn down by the attrition of centuries, introduced from without therefore and not indigenous.

Other inscriptions revealed a type of signature where the clan was represented by its totem. Among these Figs. 3 and 4

Fig. 3. *Fig. 4.*



represent the scorpion and maned rhinoceros respectively. The last is especially remarkable. The rhinoceros of the Tsochwan was possibly the tichorhinus, extinct in Europe after the Palæolithic age. The Lecturer then traced the gradual development and formation of a number of signs, until in Fig. 5 he presented an inscription which, though still not to be called written language, conveys considerable information.

Fig. 5.



The signs mean—"fish"—"melt"—"a woman's name"—"to make"—"name of a country"—"princess"—"fish" (repeated)—"mother"—"bear" (?)—"sons"—"grandsons"—"perpetual"—"precious"—"use." Though this is not language, we can gather the idea of the presenter, approximately as follows :—

"The clan of the *fish totem caused* to be *cast* (this vase) in honour of *Jin, Princess* of *Kwoh, Maternal* ancestor of the *fish* clan and ancestress of a large *posterity*—May it continue in *perpetual use*."

A study of the name of this princess, the clan name and that of the kingdom, called Kwoh, reveals the probable period of the inscription as the sixth century B.C., *i.e.* it was contemporaneous with the *Ch'un T'siu*. This work itself is not writing in any sense of the term, and always needed an expositor; hence the origin of the *Tso Chuen* or "Assisting Narrative." After the Ch'un T'siu age the number of inscriptions of various sorts increases, but for a considerable period the art of writing seems to have remained stationary. The period thus affords a satisfactory resting-place, and he did not that evening propose to carry these researches further. It will, however, be seen from the foregoing that aside from the Ten Stems, which seem to have sprung suddenly into existence, and which have therefore probably had their origin outside of China, the growth of the writing up to the Ch'un T'siu period has been natural and regular, and plainly had its origin in the idolic representations of objects, afterwards modified into ideographs. It will thus be understood that there is no trustworthy Chinese chronology before the seventh century B.C., and as writing had even then not passed out of the ideographic stage; a very few centuries must be allowed for anterior growth. We must therefore forever dismiss from all reasonable reckoning the so-called previous dynasties, as things of which not one tittle of evidence exists.

A discussion on the Paper, participated in by several members of the Society, followed the reading, after which a vote of thanks was extended to the author, and the meeting adjourned.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Wednesday, March 3rd, 1897, at 9 p.m.*

The chair was taken by Mr. P. G. VON MÖLLENDORFF (President).

The President introduced Dr. R. H. Cox, who had arranged to read a Paper on "Röntgen Rays."

Few discoveries in modern science have so exercised men's minds as this fortunate discovery of the Vienna professor, which has opened up a new vista of phenomena in directions never before dreamt of. In the science of healing it has already assumed an important place, and there is apparently no limit to the light it is eventually bound to throw on the physical sciences. It may be said, indeed, to have given us a new organ of perception, and, as it were, to have added a sixth to our hitherto short number of five senses. It was under these circumstances that the invitation of the Society to a private *séance* was availed of by a large and attentive audience.

Dr. Cox preceded his exhibition of the Rays by a short lecture on electricity, so far as it was concerned with the formation of the Röntgen Rays.

The following is a summary of the Paper.

Most people know the preliminaries, and the fact that by connecting the terminals of a battery, composed of a number of cells, strong currents of what is known as electricity are produced. These terminals may be drawn apart, leaving a space occupied by air between them, and if the current be powerful, and the amount sufficient, it will overcome the resistance of the non-conducting air and leap in the form of a spark from one terminal to another. These terminals form an important part in the equipment, and are usually made of platinum as the least oxidisable and one of the most infusible of metals. That from which negative electricity is discharged is called the *kathode*, that conveying positive the *anode*.

If between the source of electricity, which may, of course, be a battery, a storage cell, a dynamo, or a magnet, and the terminals, an *induction coil* be placed, the current is modified, or transformed into high tension electricity. An induction coil consists of a length of

fine insulated wire, it may be miles long, coiled round a core. The induced current differs in many respects from the original; it is no longer continuous, but consists of a series of rapidly occurring breaks and relays of high electromotive force. If the terminals be now brought together and separated as before, instead of a spark leaping from one to another a steady stream of light will pass, which may be continued as long as the current continues to flow. If instead of passing in air the terminals be enclosed in a glass bulb and the contained air be gradually exhausted by a well constructed air-pump, a series of very beautiful phenomena of coloured and stratified rays may be noticed passing from one terminal to another. Mr. Crooke, in London, some twenty years ago, devoted his attention to these phenomena. By improvements in the means employed, he succeeded in forming a vacancy so perfect that its pressure was less than one millionth part of the atmosphere under ordinary conditions, and in such a vacuum several strange phenomena were noticed. Amongst others, Mr. Crooke succeeded in making a carefully suspended disk, with arms attached somewhat after the style of the ordinary cup anemometer, revolve under the influence of a simple ray of light. Mr. Crooke claimed for matter in this attenuated state a new condition as far removed from the gaseous as that from the liquid, or the liquid from the solid, to which he gave the name of *radiant*. Matter as a gas became radiant when its atoms were so far removed that they were free to move independently; and under the action of light, heat or electricity, to bombard the surface of any object placed in their path. Even with the attenuation to which Mr. Crooke was able to attain, no approach to actual exhaustion had been gained, and it was calculated that within the space of a cubic millimetre, about the 650th part of a cubic inch, hundreds of thousands of molecules were to be still found. The field for observation afforded by these experiments was eagerly taken up, and on the continent the late Professor Hertz and Professor Lenard carried out further experiments. It was found that by making the kathode terminal vary in shape, various modifications were produced. If the kathodes were made concave, the rays would be focussed and intense heat and light produced, they might

also be reflected in parallel lines, and these lines it was found could be deflected out of their course by the action of a magnet. These rays impinging off a platinum plate at the anode placed at an angle could be reflected out of the tube, and Hertz discovered that certain of these rays could pass through an aluminium window inserted into the tube. In the air these Rays were not deflected, or only slightly deflected, by a magnet. Experimenting on these Rays, which are invisible, Professor Röntgen found that nevertheless they affected photographic plates, and produced fluorescence in certain compound metallic salts, of which barium platino-cyanide has been found the most useful. He also found that certain substances, such as wood, ebonite, etc., opaque to ordinary light, were practically transparent to these rays, and that shadows could thus be fixed on plates enclosed in a wooden box. This was the foundation of his discovery, that the tissues of the human body were transparent to these rays, while the bones were almost opaque, and that by such means it was possible to make a photographic picture of the entire skeleton of a living subject. This remarkable discovery appealed so much to the imagination, that it became almost instantly a subject of interest all over the world, and Professor Röntgen's experiments were eagerly repeated. It cannot be said that, except in the art of photographing and exhibiting those phenomena, much additional progress has since been made. He would, however, be able by means of an apparatus called the Scioscope to exhibit the Röntgen effects on a fluorescent screen, so that the entire audience could see them for themselves. The light was but feeble, so that it would be necessary for them to come up singly, when they could each satisfy himself. With regard to the true explanation of the Rays, no opinion has yet gained universal acceptance. By some they were considered as rays of light of extremely short vibration period, and in consequence not subject to the phenomena of reflection and refraction. Certain indications of the Crooke's vacuum tube rather pointed to their being direct emanations of extremely attenuated matter projected from the kathode. It had, for instance, been noticed by some of the German investigators that the vacuum was increased under the action of the electric discharge, and these

could best be accounted for by the particles moving at the rate of several hundreds or thousands of miles per second, being projected with such force against the sides of the tube that they actually forced their way through its substance, while the atmospheric particles without, not having the same amount of individual inertia, were unable to penetrate in the opposite direction. These differences of opinion were an indication of how much had still to be learned of these Rays, the unknown nature of which had induced their discoverer to apply to them the term X Rays, x being the accepted algebraic symbol for the unknown quantity. After describing the nature of the Rays and the means by which they where produced, Dr. Cox directed attention to the immense possibilities which may be the outcome of their use by surgeons in locating foreign bodies in the human system, the study of fractures and dislocations, and the better position in which surgeons now stood in reducing broken limbs, and setting in their proper places those which had been put out. He also pointed out, to the amusement of his hearers, that the X Rays might be a most useful companion to the menu in locating the iron shot in pheasants for the table.

The Paper concluded, the audience were invited to see the Rays for themselves, Dr. Cox having been at considerable trouble in installing a temporary battery and other electric apparatus in order that an exhibition of the Rays could be given. One by one those present were able to see the Rays for themselves, by holding their hands between the Rays contained in a Crooke tube and a Scioscope, by which the bones in the hands and rings on the fingers were seen through the flesh, and keys, coins and other similar articles were seen through pocket-books and such like opaque enclosures.

A vote of thanks proposed by the PRESIDENT was warmly accorded.

Dr. Cox and the Rev. Dr. EDKINS took the opportunity of specially referring to the importance of the discovery, which led them to believe that we were but on the brink of many greater marvels of science only awaiting revelation.

Dr. Cox thanked those present for the compliment, and the meeting concluded.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Wednesday, March 24th, 1897, at 9 p.m.*

The chair was taken by Mr. P. G. VON MÖLLENDORFF (President).

There was quite a fair attendance, with not a few ladies.

The names of new members elected since the last meeting were announced, as follows :—The Rev. Paul Kranz, Mr. H. O'Shea, Mr. D. Stepanov and Mr. N. Post.

The Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D., then read a Paper on "Ancient Writing," of which the following is a summary.

The Lecturer began by remarking that the subject was one which was attracting very much attention at home at the present time, and there were very different opinions regarding the origin of alphabetic writing. He intended to limit himself, under existing circumstances, to a special part of the subject, stating the results at which he had arrived, after studying for a considerable time matters connected with ancient writing. Ancient commerce was the instrument which spread the art of writing, which was at first pictorial, from Babylon, first into Egypt and later into China. Alphabetic writing was the natural result of phonetic signs. Since the Phœnicians were both the traditional inventors of alphabetic writing and the first nation which made commerce by sea its care and occupation, one would seem forced to the conclusion that, since Phœnician commerce could be traced in old records as far back as about two thousand years before Christ, the most probable date for the origination of the alphabet was not likely to be later than about eighteen centuries before Christ. It was among the scribes of those ancient periods that writing originated, and it was through their far-reaching travels that writing was spread to distant countries. The records of early alphabetic writing were few, because perishable materials were used. It was necessary to regard alphabetic writing as existing from the days of Abraham, who came from Chaldea. An ancient mode of writing among the Indians was called by the Chinese the Kulu

writing, in India the Kharosthi; this was stated to date from the third century before Christ. It was known that the Semitic origin of the Indian writing was now recognized. There were three modes of writing in ancient times; a brush was employed in painting, there was cutting or carving, and stamping. In all Syrian cities there was writing from very great antiquity. The numeration of India was from left to right, and came from the Babylonians, consequently embodying the principal of local value. The numeration of local value, beginning from the left, was in China certainly in 542 B.C., and it would arrive from India. At that time the Babylonian astrology had penetrated as far as to the province of Chihli in China, the governing class and the scholars being then in possession of the Babylonian arithmetic, with the fully developed art of writing. It was science, joined with the art of writing, which gave to China that superiority in intellect which enabled her to dominate the nations round her by her literature. The southern writing came to India, Dr. Bühler thought, in about 800 B.C. That differed from Professor Max Müller's view, who supposed a few years ago that writing was introduced to India about 400 B.C. The Chinese evidence was very much to the purpose, and showed that the habit of writing characters from left to right, in vogue among the Chinese from ancient times till now, was a feature confirmatory of the opinion that Chinese writing came from Babylonia. The Lecturer concluded that the *cuneiform* numeration written from left to right must have been in common use in the ports reached by ocean commerce in India and China in 615 B.C. The Indian numerals must be Babylonian and they must have been in use in the seventh century before Christ. The Kharosti was Aramean writing adapted to the language of the Punjaub in the days of Darius and Xerxes.

In conclusion, Dr. Edkins asked his audience to carefully consider the argument he had put before them, which he hoped would bring them to the conviction that the alphabetic writing was very much older than by many it was said to be.

At the conclusion of the reading remarks were made by various members of the Society, taking exception to some of the positions advanced by Dr. EDKINS.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting adjourned.

COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1896-97.

The annual meeting of the Society was held at the Society's Hall, on Wednesday, June 30th, 1897, at 9 p.m.

The chair was taken by Mr. P. G. von MÖLLENDORFF (President).

The minutes of the last public meeting having been read and approved, the Hon. Secretary then presented and read the various reports for the year, which were as follows:—

COUNCIL'S REPORT.

Shanghai, 30th June 1897.

The Council of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society beg to present their report for the year ended on the 10th instant.

1.—*The Council.*—The office-bearers elected at the annual meeting of the Society held 10th June 1896 were:—

Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff, *President;* Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., Mr. Jas. Scott, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* J. Ritter von Haas, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. F. A. de St. Croix, *Hon. Curator;* Mr. Thos. Brown, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Rev. E. Faber, D.Th., Dr. A. Forke, Mr. A. Bottu, *Councillors.*

Mr. de St. Croix, however, declined to serve, and the Museum was without an Hon. Curator until 13th January 1897, when Mr. A. Vosy-Bourbon was elected to the post.

In August we were deprived of the valuable services of the Hon. Librarian by the sad accident which resulted in his death. Mr. Z. H. Volpicelli was at once elected to fill the vacancy. In

November Dr. Forke resigned his position as Councillor, owing to his removal to Chefoo, and on the 3rd of March Mr. Brown, being about to return to England, resigned the post of Hon. Treasurer. On the 1st of March Mr. T. W. Wright was elected to succeed Mr. Brown. Fourteen meetings of the Council were held during the year.

2.—*Members.*—Twenty new members have been added to the list, *viz.*:—Mr. E. J. L. Litton, Dr. W. A. Duncan Cooper, Mr. Allister Duncan, Captain A. E. Knights, Rev. William Musson, Rev. J. C. Ferguson, Prof. F. D. Gamewell, Messrs. A. Vosy-Bourbon, J. E. Lemière, Rev. Jno. Stevens, D.D., Mr. Simeon D. Stepanov, Rev. Paul Kranz, Messrs. H. O'Shea, N. Post, G. E. Morrison, R. L. Thomson, C. A. V. Bowra, M. Koptiayeff, Rev. J. R. Hykes and Geo. A. Stuart, M.D.

3.—*Meetings.*—Seven meetings of the Society were held during the year, at which papers or lectures were presented on the following themes:—

October 21st, 1896.—The Relation of Copper and Silver in China, by Rev. J. Edkins, D.D.

November 26th.—Traces of the Origin of Chinese Writing from Ancient Inscriptions, by T. W. Kingsmill, Esq.

January 13th, 1897.—The Empress Wu of the T'ang, by C. A. V. Bowra, Esq.

February 16th.—Chinese Poetry, by Rev. W. A. P. Martin, D.D.

March 3rd.—The Röntgen Rays, by Dr. R. H. Cox.

March 24th.—Ancient Writing, by Rev. J. Edkins, D.D.

April 21st.—The Silver Question in China and Fluctuations of Prices, by Z. H. Volpicelli, Esq.

4.—*The Journal.*—The first fascicule of the Journal is ready for issue and will appear in a few days.

5.—*Officers' Reports.*—The condition of the Treasury, it will be seen from the report of the Hon. Treasurer, has been considerably improved. The thanks of the Society are due to our former and present Hon. Treasurers, Mr. Brown and Mr. Wright, for their efforts to collect subscriptions in arrears. The report of the

Hon. Curator shows that there have been a few valuable gifts to the Museum during the year.

The Council take pleasure in announcing that they have asked the Municipal Council for an additional grant to enable them to employ a competent and experienced gentleman who has applied for the post of Assistant Curator. It is hoped the Municipal Council may see its way to vote the assistance asked, and which the Museum deserves.

The report of the Hon. Librarian exhibits the condition of the Library.

For the Council,

E. T. WILLIAMS.
Hon. Secretary.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

Shanghai, 30th June 1897.

The Library of the Society is keeping very stationary, with the exception of scientific periodicals and the works published under Government auspices, which are pretty generally sent to our Society, and slowly fill the Library shelves.

The work of binding all periodicals has lately commenced and is proceeding, but unfortunately it has been discovered that many numbers are missing and probably irreparably lost, thus often spoiling valuable collections. It will be necessary in future to enact a rule that no journals or periodicals shall be removed from the Library.

It will be necessary to have another locked shelf to secure the Blue Books, for whose safe-keeping we are responsible to H.B.M's. Consulate.

Among the works presented to the Society I may mention the *Phonology of Ancient Lappish of Wiklung*, *The Royaume de Ou*, by Klepsche, and the *Mind of Mencius* by Dr. Faber.

Z. VOLPICELLI,
Hon. Librarian.

CURATOR'S REPORT.

Shanghai, 25th June 1897.

The Museum is in a satisfactory condition: Several new species of birds have been added to the collection, and improvements have been introduced in the classification: there are still, however, many things to be done, and several specimens require to be classified and labelled. A catalogue of the Library has now become a necessity, but it is troublesome work which can only be done very slowly with the limited time at the disposal of the Curator. The collections are in fair condition, and the Museum is in correspondence with M. Morse, Esq., for the acquisition of a collection of Lepidoptera, which that gentleman wishes to present to our Society, under certain conditions.

The services of the Taxidermist are very satisfactory. The Curator regrets that the want of a room prevents him working in the Museum and daily supervising the work of his subordinates. Under the present conditions improvement can only be effected very slowly.

A. VOSY-BOURBON,
Hon. Curator.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Shanghai, 21st June 1897.

The balance-sheet shows a credit balance in the general fund of Tls. 722.46, a gain of Tls. 931.85 over last year's showing. This gain is in part only seeming, as last year an extra number of the Journal was issued, while this year the first fascicule is but just ready.

The Museum account also shows a credit balance, amounting to Tls. 1,001.66. Against this, however, must be charged a loan from the Recreation Fund of Tls. 500, bearing interest at 5 per cent. per annum.

BALANCE SHEET

Dr. *1st May 1896 to 30th April 1897.* *Cr.*

INCOME.	Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Tls.	cts.
To Rent received for use of Hall	124	10	*By* Debit balance from last account	219	24
„ „ „ from Museum	250	...	„ Sundries	5	90
„ Subscriptions from Members	693	50	„ Wages	98	19
„ Interest allowed by Bank	19	89	„ Gas and Coals	64	32
„ Sales of Society's Publications	221	04	„ Advertising	70	57
„ Exchange Account...	5	09	„ Insurance	79	40
			„ Municipal Taxes	30	69
			„ Postage	3	87
			„ Stationery	4	38
			„ Printing Journals	7	30
			„ Shroff for Collecting	7	30
			„ Balance	722	46
Taels	1,313	62	Taels	1,313	62

E. & O. E.

Audited and found correct, 21st June 1897.

A. W. DANFORTH.
J. H. MACOUN.

SHANGHAI, *21st June 1897.*

T. W. WRIGHT,
Hon. Treasurer.

Dr. MUSEUM. *Cr.*

INCOME.	Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Tls.	cts.
To Balance from last account	875	15	*By* Wages: Taxidermist and Coolie	248	20
„ Donation: French Municipal Council	100	...	„ Chemicals	4	68
„ „ British „ „	500	...	„ Wood-stands	3	29
„ Work done by Taxidermist	78	74	„ Sundries	21	06
			„ Rent paid to C.B.R.A.S....	250	...
			„ Interest on Loan	25	...
			„ Balance	1,001	66
Taels	1,553	89	Taels	1,553	89

E. & O. E.

Audited and found correct, 21st June 1897.

A. W. DANFORTH.
J. H. MACOUN.

SHANGHAI, *21st June 1897.*

T. W. WRIGHT,
Hon. Treasurer.

The following office-bearers were elected for the ensuing year :—

Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff, *President;* Rev. Jos. Edkins, D.D., Mr. Jas. Scott, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. T. W. Wright, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. E. Fischer, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. A. Vosy-Bourbon, *Hon. Curator;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Rev. E. Faber, D.Th., Rev. J. R. Hykes, Mr. F. E. Taylor, *Councillors.*

Mr. Z. H. Volpicelli was appointed a delegate to represent the Society at the International Oriental Congress to be held at Paris in the ensuing September.

After a vote of thanks to the auditors, Messrs. A. W. Danforth and J. H. Macoun, for their valuable services, and a like testimonial to the officers of the past year, the meeting adjourned.

MINUTES *of a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Monday, November 29th, 1897, at 9 p.m.*

The attendance was very small, but among the visitors was Prof. Gruebe, of Berlin, who was welcomed by the chairman and invited to take part in the discussion of the paper.

The Vice-President, Rev. J. EDKINS, D.D., called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the last public meeting were read and approved. New members elected since the last public meeting were announced as follows :—Mr. N. Syromiatnikoff, Hon. R. F. Pettigrew, Mr. G. H. Eichelberger, Mr. Narahara, Rev. E. Box and Rev. F. H. James.

Dr. EDKINS then called MR. F. E. TAYLOR to the chair and proceeded to read the Paper of the evening, prepared by Dr. S. W. Bushell, of Peking, entitled "The Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tangut, its Money and Peculiar Script." A brief discussion followed the reading, and after a vote of thanks to the author and the reader, the meeting adjourned.

MINUTES of a GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Thursday, May 12th*, 1898, *at 9 p.m.*

The chair was taken by Mr. T. W. KINGSMILL, who announced the election to membership of Capt. W. W. Rich.

The Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D., then read a Paper entitled "Ancient Chinese Thought, Political and Religious," of which the following is a summary.

Mencius says men have certain powers acquired by education and they have intuitive inclinations to goodness. The intuitive dispositions of men come to them by an internal impulse without reflection. He thought that children love their parents intuitively: they honour their elder brothers and uncles through the same spontaneous impulse. This, he says, is a native principle of goodness which the Chinese call *jen*, "humanity." It is also a native sense of duty, or propriety, which they call *i*. Humanity, or *jen*, is gentleness. Duty is a straight-cut line from which no man may deviate. A derivative sense of *i*, duty, is that of patriotism.

Mencius boldly asserts that all mankind are by natural constitution inclined to act in a filial way to parents, and in a respectful manner to their elders. Dr. Griffith John, in a paper printed in an early volume of the Journal of our Society, drew a parallel between this doctrine of an intuitive sense inclining men to love and to duty, and the Christian doctrine of conscience as expounded by Bishop Butler in his sermons on Human Nature. There is satisfaction in thinking that all the educated Chinese, who, while they recite Mencius from memory, also think on the meaning of Mencius, are perfectly aware that, according to the Confucian teaching, charity to all mankind, loyalty to the State, and duty in all our actions, are the immovable basis of public instruction and of tranquillity in every branch of social life. The Chinese are at one with us on these important points.

When Shun, the emperor of that name, was living among the mountains, 4,000 years ago, according to tradition, the mountains of

Shansi and northern Chihli, a thick sub-ærial deposit of loess covered the valleys as now. The fertility of the soil gave a quick return to the labour of the Chinese husbandman. Rain fell from heaven to help him. It was not difficult 4,000 years ago, when, in successive companies, the Chinese came eastward and found so fruitful a soil prepared for them, to establish a government which became a model for future ages. This was the Chinese golden age. The government of Shun is particularly described in the *Shun Tien* of the Book of History. He paid attention to astronomy. He offered burnt sacrifices to the Supreme Ruler. He visited his dominions once in five years. He encouraged silk manufacture. He deepened the rivers. Justice and compassion were his standard of action. This is the man about whom Mencius loved to converse with his pupils, and to comment with sympathy on his filial piety and his political wisdom. What made this model Emperor of antiquity in any way different from the wild barbarians, whether Turks, if they were of northern origin, or Tibetans, if they were of western origin, with whom he met in the valley of Shansi helping to cultivate the light soil of those localities? It was, says Mencius, an intuitive, spontaneous goodness. He heard a good word spoken, or saw a good action done, and his soul responded with a gush of sympathetic feeling.

The appearance of such a man ensures good government to a nation and tranquillity to society. Here is the union of intuitive philosophy with political thought of the most valuable kind.

The idea of heavenly destiny is a moral predestination on the part of God. That predestination includes the purpose to interfere for the correction of abuses. When mankind grow corrupt a wise king is sure to appear. The wise king is a model of virtue, as a son filial, as a king reverential to Heaven.

The son of the Emperor Yaou could not succeed him on the throne because he was not virtuous. A council was called and the Emperor chose Shun. The hereditary principle was for the time set aside, and the principle of moral and political fitness was adopted.

Chinese ancient thought saw clearly that the hereditary principle ought to rule in fixing the succession, but that it ought to give way when the heir to the throne is morally not qualified for that position.

The advantage attendant on hereditary monarchy with absolute power is that, when the sovereign is well disposed he becomes a model of virtue and moral wisdom to all his subjects.

The Chinese have the idea of teaching by example. The main thing in instruction is morality. But morality may be taught by example. The Emperor, the Viceroy, the Magistrate is a pattern of all virtues. His behaviour shines like the sun by its own light. Virtue in the Chinese ancient thought is a resplendent object like the sun and moon. As there is one sun in the heavens so there is one light of brilliant virtue in a country. It is the Emperor himself. This is the reason that in the *Ta Hio*, the first of the Four Books, the object of instruction is to make brilliantly clear the resplendent virtue of the moral character: Virtue is bright, Vice is dark. Virtue is the conduct of the Emperor. He is its realized form. Without actually teaching the people to read and write, the object of government is gained if the people are filial to their parents, loyal to the State, and just in their dealings. To be virtuous in this excellent manner they may learn by imitation of the Emperor's virtues.

In the history of *Sz ma-chien* it is said of Shun that his reputation for filial piety was acquired when he was young,—indeed, only twenty years of age. At thirty he was called to assist the Emperor Yao in the administration of public affairs. He is an example of a wise king. The Chinese sages are more of them kings or emperors than uncrowned sages. Such a sage as Shun, rising in comparative youth to the management of public affairs, is an example of the heaven-bestowed wisdom of which Mencius spoke.

The place of filial piety in ancient Chinese thought is shown by the repeated attempts made to place the *Hiau King* in the collection of the Four Books and Five Classics. In 1735, when the

Emperor Chienlung ascended the throne, this was proposed. There is an objection to it. The present copy is thought to have been compiled by Lieuhiuen. This is stated in the Sui History, and repeated in the *Tanghweiyau* and in Lu Te Ming's notes on the Classics (*Tung hwa hsü lu* 1, 31). We may suppose that there was never a time when the hereditary principle of government was not regarded as inherent in Chinese government. Here we see the difference between Roman ideas and Chinese. When Romulus died, the Senate chose as a successor one of themselves, who reigned for a time and was succeeded by another. Every senator was to be king in turn. The people disapproved, and the Senate changed their idea. The Romans chose a king from among the Sabines, and Numa Pompilius became king of Rome. The Chinese had an interregnum once, but they returned quickly to the hereditary principle founded on filial piety.

Filial piety is shown by attention to the wants of parents while they are living, and by the performance of ancestral worship after they are dead.

In the *Ta hio*, the first of the Four Books, filial piety constitutes the third virtue of *Wen Wang*. The five royal virtues are:— Kindness to the people, reverence to the sovereign (while he was still a subject of the Shang Emperor), filial piety, affection to his children, fidelity to the promises he had made to the nation. But a little farther on in the book, filial piety is explained to embrace reverence for the prince. In common Chinese speech the Emperor is also the father. Filial piety then embraces reverential regard for the sovereign as well as for one's own parents. A Chinese calls the emperor *Kiun fu*—king and father.

Bravery and loyalty are consistent with each other, and co-exist in the same person. The principle of filial piety is quite in harmony with freedom of speech. When a State undertakes to teach morality, as Confucianism does, it renovates the people. It becomes safe for them to be allowed to speak their minds, because loyalty is natural to them, educated as they have been.

This principle involves the permission of newspapers, parliamentary representation, and the liberty to hold public meetings. Everyone is, according to theory, trained to filial piety and loyalty. Tyranny was never natural to mankind. Tyrannical despotism is unnatural. The people think so, and they will say so, and by their votes they will overturn the despot. Let us hear the *Kwo Yü* on this point.

Li Wang was tyrannical. The people made reproachful observation on the Emperor. Chao Kung, a minister, said to him, the people are discontented and fret under the present system of administration. The Emperor on hearing it engaged an astrologer of the Wei country to find out for him who the murmurers were. Whoever was made known, an order was given for his execution. The people became very much alarmed, and passed one another on the roads without speaking. The Emperor then said to Chao Kung, "I can stop the murmurers. No one dares to move his tongue." Chao Kung replied: "To stop the murmurs of the disloyal is a greater achievement than to check the overflow of a river. When a river is checked there is an overflow and a breaking down of embankments. This causes injury to multitudes. So it is with the people. When there is an innundation the water must be led and a free way made for it to flow. So with the people, a free way must be made for their speech. Let them speak and learn from their speech whether you are successful or not in government.

"This is the reason that the Emperor in the daily audiences listens to the advice of Ministers. Scholars offer their poems; the blind musicians offer songs; scribes offer histories; political maxims are offered by some, and long poems by others; the blind present laudatory pieces. Each class presents the fruit of special thought, and the Emperor, after considering the opinions of each, decides. So it is that public affairs flow on without hindrance.

"Speech in the people may be compared with the earth which has on it mountains and rivers yielding profit in many ways to the people and the State. The earth has its flat regions and its

marshes. They give clothing and food. In the same way by the speech of the people it may be known how to give them what will be for their benefit and provide that in which they are deficient. They will obtain valuable property, implements, clothing and food. By their speech their thoughts are known. Let speech be free. Why should it be checked? If their lips are muzzled it will not be long before an outbreak occurs."

The Emperor refused to listen. No one dared throughout the kingdom to utter a word, the gag was successful. Police law was triumphant. But what happened? In three years the Emperor was dethroned and sent to Yungan in Shansi to prevent his doing further mischief.

The place of religion in ancient Chinese thought is a very prominent one. Thus in the *Shiki* [ch. 1, p. 6] a description is given of the actions of an early Emperor, Chwenhü. He was grandson of the Yellow Emperor. Profound thoughtfulness gave him plans. Penetration in inquiring gave him knowledge of affairs. He encouraged the growth of timber and cereals to occupy and make use of the land. He attended to the seasons to be like Heaven. He followed the just dealings of spirits of the mountains and rivers in his administration. In sacrificing, his offerings were pure and his heart deeply sincere. This was written about a century before Christ. It shows that thoughtful men looked on the order of heavenly phenomena as a model for government on earth. Worship must be carefully performed, and sincere adoration is due to the powerful spirits who conduct the operations of nature. Religious sentiment was powerful, and religious worship cannot be omitted. In the administration of public affairs religious worship is the first duty of the sovereign.

The canonization of ancients was not uncommon. A tradition says that when Shao Hao, the ancient Emperor, died [said to have died B.C. 2513] his spirit, or *shen*, descended on the Changlieu 長流 mountain. In sacrifices he is the Ruler of Autumn, and as such he controls crime and assigns punishments. The locality where the Ruler of Autumn is worshipped is a name of happy.

augury. Religion is inseparable from politics. Such was the effect of the honour ascribed to rulers on the minds of men, that in early times each highly esteemed person at death was canonized by worshippers. The higher the rank of the person deceased while living so much the more honourable was his position as a divine person after his death. By this door of entrance the practice of polytheism rapidly extended among the ancient Chinese.

This fact points to the religious feeling of the ancient Chinese, and is one of a multitude of examples of ancient thought in the religious sphere. The state of opinion is also shown by prayers for rain.

In times of drought, when rain is to be prayed for, the captain of the rain is to be appealed to by offerings. But first it is necessary to purify the administration by liberating all innocent persons kept in prison, and by discharging all the duties of filial piety, loyalty, fidelity and honour. The people must be instructed in their duties, and made virtuous and intelligent in order to influence Heaven to send rain on the thirsty lands. Then three days of rain will delight all the labouring population. This is the way to pray for rain. It is in this way that the moral sentiment is introduced in the midst of detail of sacrifices.

Formerly the officers who governed the people were distinct from those who had charge of spiritual beings. If men have providential skill they distinguish matters of high concern from matters of no consequence. When men have the reputation of the sage and the light of a virtuous character, the bright spirits feel themselves under an attracting spell and come down to them. Both men and women become possessed of supernatural powers, and can control demons so as to assign their ranks to each, and determine correctly the order of all spirits when sacrifices are offered to them. From the statements of the *Kwo Yü* there remains no doubt that sacrificing to spiritual beings gave, it was supposed, the power of controlling those same spiritual beings as witches are believed to be able to do. This was accepted in

Europe not many centuries ago. It is not believed now. If sacrifices are withheld, the ancient Chinese thought that the happiness which spiritual beings can confer will not be bestowed. In the old *régime* of China a very large number of persons had charge of religious duties. Of all the duties of a king the religious duties are the most important. According to the *Kwo Yü*, the Emperor, at an early date, appointed many special officers to manage all religious affairs.

The preceding examples are taken from the *Kwo Yü*, a work written after the time of Confucius, but containing many examples of the teaching of the wise kings of antiquity as preserved in the Chow country, the Lu country, the Chi country, the Chin country, the Cheng country, the Wu country, and the Yue country. In all, the moral tendencies of the current teaching of the literary class are made very prominent.

In the section on the Wise Maxims and Political Sayings of the Chu country, it is said that Chwang Wang, the fifth usurper of the hegemony of all the barons, sent an officer to go to give warning advice to his son acting as his tutor. The officer excused himself saying he had no ability and could do the prince no service. The King said, "You having in yourself what is good use this to stimulate him on the path of goodness." The officer replied, the prince being virtuous and wishing the virtuous in others, virtuous men will come to him. If he does not wish virtuous men they will not come to be employed by him. Yau, the famous Emperor of that name, had a degenerate son, Chu, who received the Barony of Tan-shun and had a son, Shang-chiün, who received the Barony of Shang in Shensi; the Emperor K'i, the successor of Yü, and the second sovereign of the Hia dynasty, had five sons named Wukwan—*viz.* Tai-kang and others. T'ang, the first sovereign of the Shang dynasty, had a grandson named T'aikea, who refused to comply with the laws, would not be guided by I-yin, and was sent away to T'ung. So it was with Wen Wang. He was virtuous himself, but he had degenerate sons, Kwan and Tsai. The former, Kwan, was put to death by

Cheu-kung, when acting as Prime Minister. The other, Ts'ai, was punished, but less severely.

All these sovereigns had themselves noble qualities, which in their sons were wanting. Virtue was much to be desired in these princes, but they disappointed those who expected it. When the King asked his counsellor Shen-shu what he should do, the reply was "Instruct prince and people in the history of the Springs and Autumns in which the good are praised and the bad condemned." In this way they should be taught to love virtue and hate vice. Let them be instructed in the genealogies of our sovereigns, so that they may know what bright virtue is, and avoid the darkness of immorality. In this way they will use men rightly and warn them in regard to actions.

Let the poetry of the Classics be used in instruction, and the student will be led to admire highly the conspicuous virtue of good rulers, and they themselves will, in their decisions, be guided by bright intelligence.

In instruction it is necessary also to teach the due subordination of ranks and classes in society by means of the *Liki*. Music, too, must be made use of to cleanse the mind from vice and confirm it where it reveals unsteadiness. Confucian writers always place ceremonies and music together as a part of the Classics, yet music is not taught. Only the Book of Ceremonies is read and made use of in instruction. As a whole, the Classics, according to theory, include the *Cheu li*, which describes the duties and titles of all court officers and magistrates. A mass of particulars are here recorded. Education requires to be a long process, too long indeed for the student who needs to go into active pursuits, if all the information, the ceremonial about marriages, funerals and sacrifices occurring throughout the year are to be known by the learner as recorded in the *Ili*.

In theory, all these books have to be mastered, but the tone of the *Kwo Yü* shows that moral lessons are the real foundation of all Chinese youthful training. In continuation of this practical, all-embracing political philosophy, for such it is, the book says

the princes must be instructed in the duties of all the officers, classified as they are in the ancient system, according to the times when their services are required. It is a curious fact that Chinese government offices are arranged according to the calendar. The prince must also learn the political maxims left on record by the wise kings of antiquity, so that he may know how to govern as they did by practising conformity with those virtuous maxims in governing the people.

The *Cheu-yü* begins with the following words:—Mu-wang, the fourth Cheu sovereign, was planning an attack on the Turks and Tibetans. Chi-kung urged him not to make this attack, saying the ancient kings displayed their virtues. They did not place their military force in view. Armies collect and move forward. When they move they are feared. If merely looked at they are despised. If despised they are not feared. The poem of Cheu-kung says: "The shield and spear are collected in the armoury. The bow is hung up, and the arrow returns to the quiver." I seek excellent virtue to be shewn to my Chinese people. The faithful King will protect them. The action of the ancient kings towards the people had for its aim to develop correctly their virtues and render broad and solid their moral nature, to increase their wealth and sharpen the edge of their weapons, to instruct them in what was profitable and mischievous, to civilize them by culture, so that they might apply their minds to what is useful and avoid what is dangerous. Tranquillity was maintained, and the people prospered.

The absolutism of the Chinese system of government needs to be viewed in the light of its safeguards. The Confucian sovereign is a well-educated man. For example, he is himself head examiner in the literary examinations. He exhibits in himself what real goodness is. His action is limited by the instructions of the sages. Swift and inevitable ruin will fall on his dynasty if he forgets this. What is there then to alarm in Chinese absolutism? The Chinese have severe punishments, and in popular riots there appears to be no limit to their cruelties.

Their theory is however right, because the Emperor is the father of a family and should be able to control his children and domestics.

The guarantee for upright, impartial government is the education of the sovereign in a practical knowledge of the maxims of wise men. He administers public affairs with the help of good men, who, like himself, have been trained in the knowledge of ancient history.

Let this political idea be compared with that of the American constitution. The Legislature can withhold supplies, but the President, elected for four years, is Commander-in-Chief of the Army. He can call out the Militia of the States. The Congress decides on peace or war. The President can veto acts of Congress. He appoints the Judge and the Civil Service. He is an absolute sovereign, but only for four years. He is changed for another after four years. He is raised to his office by a plebiscite. This is in a sense absolute monarchy.

Europeans cannot condemn the American constitution because it is established by the votes of all the people, women and children excepted, but they will say that women ought in fairness to be allowed to vote.

Nor can Englishmen condemn the Russian principle of government, if Russian statesmen are upright and give good advice to their sovereign, because in the government of a great nation, the authority to take action must in emergencies be left in the hands of a dictator. The republic of Rome gave to the dictator the same right which the sovereign of Russia enjoys, but only for a limited time.

In the English system of government the hereditary principle in the succession to the crown in maintained, as in Russia and in China. This is held to be very important for the prevention of civil war, and to impart greater dignity and distinction to the ruler. This is a help to the nation in diplomatic relations with other kingdoms. The nation is honoured when the sovereign is honoured. The national power and dignity are increased with the power and loftiness of the sovereign. The education of the

prince is left to the father to provide. In England it is a matter of royal and family concern. Royalty decides how the royal children shall be educated.

The Confucian idea, and by this I mean the ancient Chinese ideas of immemorial antiquity which Confucius transmitted to his pupils, compels the successor to the throne to be educated in a certain manner. He must go through a moral training which will adapt him for his duties. In the instruction given in ancient books he is required to be familiar with the whole system of government, the history of the ancient kings, and especially the maxims according to which they governed. He must know the story of the ancient dynasties, from Fuhi downwards. He must study the feelings of the people, their love and their hatred, their agricultural toil and their industry as spinners and weavers. This he learns in the *Book of Odes*. In the *Chuntsieu* he reads later history down to his own time, immediately after the age of Confucius. So far goes the theory in the *Kwo Yü*. But if we continue the inquiry down to the present time, the whole intervening history has to be studied by the young prince, and this means an acquaintance with the political changes of two thousand years.

There is no evasion of this duty possible if the great political idea of the training of the sovereign has to be maintained. The thought of ancient China found its main principle in the government of the State by a virtuous absolute sovereign, aided by wise counsellors. They all know history and its moral lessons. A moral standard of duty and moral retribution exist throughout.

If here we stop for a moment and ask how the ancient Greeks represented history, the reply may be that Clio, the muse of history, appears in a sitting attitude with an open roll of paper or an open chest of books. Her sister Calliope, the muse of epic poetry, appears with a tablet and stylus and sometimes with a roll of paper. Herodotus dedicated his history to the nine muses. Homer and Herodotus were both read by the ancient Greek princes. But chiefly Homer inspired the Greeks with that warlike courage

and patriotic love for their institutions and their freedom which helped them to fight at Marathon and Thermopylæ.

In China, history is a looking-glass, as the name of the work of Sz Makwang, the *T'ung kien kang mu*, implies. That book shows what the idea of history had become in the eleventh century, 800 years ago, when it was written. The old idea of Confucian times was still retained. To the Greeks the muse of history was a goddess who sang of war, of freedom, of inexorable fate, the infamy of battles lost and the glory of battles won. To the Confucian pupil history was a moral teacher, pointing out how prosperity results from virtuous government, and misery and death from vice and dissolute life on the part of the sovereign. By this comparison the ancient thought of China comes clearly out to view as finding its centre of evolution in eternal and immutable morality, while it is necessarily linked to the sovereign prince who is the personal embodiment of that morality.

In this political theory ancient China stands alone, because no other nation has ever identified morality and politics, and represented the sovereign as the perfect embodiment of both.

The further development of the thought becomes somewhat tiresome because of an observable monotony. What a pleasure we feel in listening to church bells when they change, as they sometimes do, from the perpetual octave of eight sounds coming in unbroken succession to the melody of a well-known tune. It is a pleasant surprise which delights the ear. There is a certain unpleasing monotony in the repetition in ancient Chinese writers of self-evident truths.

Unfortunately for the ancient Chinese they did not know enough. When nature is understood it becomes intensely interesting. Moral truths illustrated by examples are of the deepest interest to readers and to thinkers. This is shown by the romantic literature of modern Europe. It is entrancing to the reader because it sketches human life in a variety of combinations. So with science. When taught in a way that students can understand, it is profoundly interesting. The monotony observable in Chinese

ancient writing is caused by the absence of real thought and by the reiteration of common-place truths. Yet this criticism is shown by occasional flashes of noble thought to be not uniformly applicable by any means. For instance, when it is said by Confucius :—

Tsao wen tao si sï ko i, "If I hear wise teaching in the morning I can die contented at night."

Sï shêng yeu ming fu kwei tsai tien, "Life and death are predestined ; riches and honours depend on Heaven's will."

Ki so pu yü wu shï yü jen 己所不欲勿施於人, "What you do not wish done to yourself do not to others."

四海之內皆兄弟也 "All within the four seas are brethren."

The brotherhood of man is here recognised in a way which rejoices the foreign reader who is accustomed to the altruistic teaching of the Christian religion.

The *Kwo Yü* continues [chap. 18] : The King of the Chû country asked his counsellor what was meant in the *Chou shu* by the expression Ch'ung, and Li so acted as to check all intercourse between Heaven and Earth. But for this would anyone of mankind be able to ascend to Heaven ? The counsellor replied not so ; but formerly the people and the spirits of Heaven were not under the control of one officer. The souls of the people did not part into two. But they retained unity, a common reverence and uprightness. They were intelligent, and could distinguish the high from the low. They were profoundly wise and could spread the splendour of brilliant purity all around. Their brightness shed light around, and their clearness penetrated to the farthest point. It was in this way that spiritual power 神明 came down upon men, with the name *gik* for men and *mo* for women. Those who could control spirits sat in the seat of the spirit at the sacrifices, and arranged the tablets in their order. They also regulated the vessels which held animal offerings, and the robes to be worn according to the seasons. They were also able to give to sages and kings their proper honour, and could assign names [to the spirits of the mountains and rivers].

In Legge's *Shuking*, pp. 503, 506, there is an explanation of this. Ch'ung and Li were ministers of the Emperor Chwen hü. Ch'ung superintended the worship of spirits, Li made rules for the people. The Emperor Yau is said to have appointed descendants of Ch'ung and Li to undertake the same duties as those managed by their ancestors. Then princes and people all attended to their special tasks, and there was an end to disorder. Ch'ung was Minister of Religion and Li of Instruction. Through the reforms they introduced a way was opened for the poorest and most distressed of the people to make their complaints known to the Emperor. The land was productive, the government was wisely conducted, and the people were happy. Legge says no light can be thrown on the passage. But the real light is the moral feeling pervading it. This is highly important in so ancient a book *

From these considerations it appears that in negotiations with the Chinese the appeal to justice and compassion is never out of place. The national conscience responds to every word spoken on behalf of those who suffer. Further, liberty among the people is not really objected to by the Chinese. The moral bearings of a question should never be kept out of view. The key to the heart of a Chinese audience is the appeal to the sense of right and the sense of pity.

There is no limit to popular liberty in the ancient Chinese theory. All forms of rational liberty are in harmony with that theory. They only need development. The Chinese race seems capable of indefinite expansion, and so it is with their political system. There is nothing in it to prevent its indefinite development into all forms of rational and moral freedom.

* Legge's translation is remarkable for its accuracy. He is severe in his judgments of Chinese criticisms, and rejects, with too much boldness, some probable explanations. It is interesting to mark underneath Legge's careful search into the meaning of his texts, a feeling that he is dealing with actual history all through this ancient book. He did not doubt the history. He only doubted the meaning of texts and the mode of removing difficulties found in them.

At the close of the reading there was a discussion, in which several members engaged, and after a vote of thanks to the lecturer the meeting was adjourned.

MINUTES of a GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Hall on Wednesday, February 16th*, 1898, *at* 9 *p.m.*

The chair was taken by the Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D. (Vice-President).

The SECRETARY announced the election of the following persons to membership: The Hon. John Goodnow (Consul-General of the United States), Dr. Gruebe, of Peking; Dr. D. Main, of Hangchow, and Rev. William C. White, of Amoy.

The CHAIRMAN then read a Paper, prepared by Mr. M. F. A. Fraser, entitled "A Manchu Ukase," which is printed *in extenso* in Vol. XXX of the Society's Journal. The original and a transliteration were presented as well as the translation.

After the reading there was a brief discussion, followed by a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Fraser.

Mr. T. W. KINGSMILL then read his Paper, entitled "Some Myths of the *Shiking*," of which the following is a summary:—

On my arrival in China, I was, as doubtless many besides myself have been, seized with the ambition to study for myself the evidences for the so-called ancient history of China; and to discover if there were any foundations for the assumed antiquity of the birth of the Empire which would bear the test of modern criticism,—such criticism for instance as Niebuhr and Mommsen applied successfully to the stories of the foundation of Rome. I was assisted in my researches by the valuable edition of the Chinese Classics, then being published, under distinguished patronage, by the late Dr. James Legge, which for the first time placed at the disposition of the English student not only carefully revised texts and most valuable indices, but also a well-condensed summary of the accepted school

of Chinese criticism, and references to the most important writings on the subject, from the time of the Cheo dynasty downwards.

This, the first meeting of the Society since news arrived of the death of the able professor at his elected home at the University of Oxford, affords me the opportunity of paying a well-earned tribute to the industry, the deep knowledge of Chinese literature, and the thorough literary honesty of our departed Honorary Member. In some respects it is an advantage to future students of Chinese that Dr. Legge accepted in its entirety the views of the orthodox followers of Chuhi. In this respect, as in many others, he carried out the views of his great prototype Confucius. Confucius, as Dr. Legge tells us in evident admiration, was a transmitter, not a creator, and it is this fact and its effects on his immediate successors that enhance doubly the value of his work for posterity.

In this particular Dr. Legge has faithfully followed in the footsteps of his predecessor. Dr. Legge was eminently a transmitter, who has faithfully transmitted for the benefit of the European scholar, not only the remains of the far past, but likewise the opinions and renderings of the school of the greatest literary tyrant the world has yet seen, the pretended philosopher Chuhi; who attempted, and, so far as China is concerned, almost succeeded, in placing within iron fetters the human intellect.

As a critic Chuhi is beneath contempt; his mind was essentially euhemeristic, and in this he coincided admirably with the euhemerists of the Early Han. With men confined by the very nature of the case within the straight-waistcoat of Chinese, written or spoken, with its scant list of about 700 vocables and some 5,000 characters in ordinary use, who had no knowledge of an alphabet, and no better means of analysis of sounds than is afforded by the *fanyün*, the sounds of the ancient language were soon forgotten. The heavy heel of the ruthless conqueror, Shi Hwangti, combined with the enforced mixture under an iron despotism of the dissimilar tribes composing the new *réyime* in wiping out all clear memory of the past; and when, under the earlier Han Emperors, peace was again restored to the distracted Empire, a new language had

arisen, as different from the ancient speech of the Cheos as was the new English of Chaucer from the ancient and largely inflected speech of King Alfred and the Venerable Bede.

The re-censors of the ancient literature had no guide to assist them in the task. Even in those comparatively rare cases where actual manuscripts remained, the pronunciation was only preserved in an uncertain tradition. The ancient ballads had, in the hands of a special class, been handed down traditionally for generations. The old written language had never been sufficiently perfected to represent language as distinct from hieroglyph, but the class had well-nigh become extinct; and, when the Emperor offered rewards for the recovery of all ancient fragments, it was from the lips of an old man, one of the few survivors of the old class of historiographers, that the modern Classic of Ballads was written down in characters which but poorly represented the more inflected and picturesque speech of the old settlers in the hand of Hya. To eke out the imperfect vocables of the new language a certain number of characters, simply phonetic, were made use of, and hence arose that class of enclitics, by the modern Chinese denominated *hsütsze*, or empty characters, but which in the old language were true inflections.

Such is the state of the Books as handed down from the period of the early Han; and such is the record which, under the name of "The Chinese Classics," was, for the first time as a whole, made available for European students by the late Professor.

The student of Comparative Mythology at once in these works recognises the familiar phenomena which mark ballad poetry all the world over. Disguised though they are in a bald translation, even to a student ignorant of Chinese they speak in the language of Myth. Even the euhemerism of the Chinese commentator, accepted in simple faith by Dr. Legge, is unable to clothe the language with a pall sufficiently thick to prevent the structure now and then peering through its environment.

Naturally this is most marked in the *Shiking*, where the ballads assume a professedly rhythmical aspect, but, in the *Shuking*, sandwiched between a gloss of prose, the attentive student in many

cases can detect running through the whole a vein of verse, more or less marked. In that curious book the *Yih King* the same phenomenon is repeated; only here the versicles are reduced to their most primitive condition, only the picture writing remaining, and all traces of rhythm being entirely lost.

Of the condition of society in China at the time the ballads of the *Shiking* were composed, we can form an opinion from the description of Germania, given by Tacitus. The Roman author tells us of the ancient Germans that they told in ancient songs, which with them was a substitute for history, of the god Tuisco, founder of their race, and his son Mannus. They affirmed that Hercules once lived amongst them, and when setting out for battle sung of him as the first of brave men. These battle-songs elevated their courage, and from the sound they augured good fortune for their arms. Their kings they selected from noble families, but their leaders in war were chosen for distinguished courage; nor had their kings unchecked power, and their generals ruled rather by example than force. They were accustomed to inaugurate any enterprise by casting lots. They cut saplings into short fragments, and, casting them with invocations on to a white cloth, from their fall prognosticated the future. They respected their wives, and consulted them in all their undertakings, and womankind was held in high estimation. Every one of these characteristics was as marked amongst the intoners of the ancient ballads of the *Shi* as amongst the tribes of whom Tacitus has drawn so picturesque a description.

Unfortunately Tacitus did not preserve for posterity any of these wild battle-songs of the Teutons. It is the glory of Confucius that, albeit in a sadly mutilated form, he was instrumental in causing the preservation of the ancient *baritus* of the settlers in China. Such in reality are the ballads of the Cheos handed down in the *Shiking*.

These ballads were of many descriptions; some war-songs to animate the minds of the people when combating their inveterate enemies, the Himwans and other Turkish tribes, or when carrying on lighter and less harassing campaigns against the aboriginal inhabitants of the Flowery Land; some were sacrificial songs when

offering sacrifices to the manes of their ancestors or those great beings whom, with the Germans, they believed to be the first progenitors of their men; some were funeral dirges intoned at the burials of their chiefs, and others again epithalamia, sung with joyous dances at the marriage of their daughters; some love ditties, pure and simple in diction, devoid of evil suggestion or intention. Some, again, told of the marriage chase, even so late the usual custom amongst the tribes; some invoked the deities who ruled over the celestial sphere; some were addressed to the twin horsemen who, in ancient lore, ushered in the spring; others celebrated the glories of autumn and the harvest.

In fact, rightly read in the *Shiking*, we have an epitome such as nowhere else survives of the inner life of a primitive people; who, by the force of circumstances, found themselves completely cut off from communication with any other nation of similar culture. But the very reason which leads to the importance of the study has hitherto prevented full advantage being taken of it. The reason of this is simple.

Hitherto our knowledge of the *Shiking* has been confined to the unsympathetic and erroneous views of the Chinese commentators, and of those European students who were content to receive their inspiration from them. Of genuine study of the originals, free from this disturbing influence, there has been none. The isolation of the authors of the ballads has been continued amongst their successors. Except the very remarkable influence of communication with India, apparently through T'ien yüt (Sthaneshwara), which resulted at the beginning of the Han dynasty in a perfect deluge of Indian tradition, and to which we owe the working-up of the pretended early history of China; Chinese literature, unless where it came later in contact with Buddhist influences, has remained free from foreign suggestion. The Indian influence was distinctly Brahmanic, and tinged with all the faults of that literature in its senile decay. The *Hitsze* of the *Yih King*, which was one of the first works wherein the expansion of Chinese history was attempted, belongs to this date. Here we find for the first time mention of such essentially

Indian ideas as Fuhi (Vayu, the Wind) introduced into the current of history; and the evil seed grew, till the Chinese, themselves euhemeristic, adopted in blind faith the Vishnaivic theories of these most untrustworthy of guides.

Of the views of the school we may find an exemplification in the opening of the *Hitsze.* "Heaven is honourable; earth is mean. The K'ien and K'wan being established, the low and the lofty are arranged, the honourable and the ordinary take their corresponding positions. Motion and rest become fixed [as attributes]; the hard and soft are determined. Forms are collected according to species, matter divided into classes, good and evil luck have their origin. In heaven, the *eidola* [of things] are made; on earth [their] material is perfected. Thus change and transformation are manifested." Such is the transcendental basis on which the Chinese philosophers attempted to found a groundwork for human knowledge. Human nature was rigorously excluded; and human nature had its revenge in that enchainment with iron shackles of the intellect, which culminated in the work of Chuhi.

In Europe we find traces of the same process, though fortunately not so marked. Speaking of the earlier Scandinavian folk songs, in many respects akin to the Chinese ballads, an English writer* says: "At an early period this literature would be oral and traditional. Runic characters, the only existing method of writing, were only a clumsy vehicle for the transmission of these literary specimens—much less handy than their tenacious and nimble memories. The introduction of Christianity, about A.D. 1000, brought with it Latin characters, but it was a century or more before they were employed in copying these vernacular productions." When the ancient laws and legends, religious and traditional, were at last written down they were overlaid with such a mass of monkish prejudice and ignorance, that it was not till the almost heroic work of the founders of the science of comparative mythology was brought to bear on them that their true position was recognised.

* Frederick Metcalf, "The Englishman and the Scandinavian;" Trübner, 1880.

The ancient ballads of the Germani, of which Tacitus told us, have perished, but in the *Niebelungen Lied* many of its oldest jewels have been preserved for our edification; and these in turn have blossomed into the great Carolingian epic which formed the well from whence sprung our modern romance. In the ancient ballads of our British predecessors, of which Chaucer tells us:

> "These olde gentil Bretons in hir dayes
> Of diverse aventures maden layes
> Rimeyed in hir firste Breton tonge,"

the purest and greatest of modern nineteenth century poets has found the inspiration for his "Idylls of the King."

The greatest linguistic triumph of the century has undoubtedly been the disinterment from the mass of falsity and ignorance, in which the Brahmanistic school of interpreters buried them, of the hymns of the *Rigveda*. Not only have many problems in history heretofore insoluble been rendered comparatively easy, but the Government of India has in its reforms been able to point to the more wholesome and genuine code of morals prevailing ere Brahmanism threw its cloak of a debasing superstition over the land. A similar development waits in China the true interpretation of the *Shiking*, and the disenthralment of her scholars from the false and materialistic school which has so long enchained them.

Nearly thirty years ago my first study of the tale of the entrance of the Cheo tribes from the north-west and their conquest of Shang Yin, convinced me that, with a true tradition of an actual fact of the first importance towards a critical understanding of the history of Central and Eastern Asia, there was mixed up a myth of the contest of light and darkness, familiar to all those who have made early legends their study. I had the pleasure of bringing the myth before the Society, which did me the honour, in 1872, in Volume X of our Transactions, of publishing the paper in full.

Just twenty years ago, in 1878, I followed up the subject in a paper on the "Ancient Language and Cult of the Chows," which appeared in the Journal for the year. Further study has tended

to convince me of the truth of the conclusions at which I then arrived, and which, with the exception of a few details, I take the opportunity of again employing towards the elucidation of an important epoch in Asiatic history. I have endeavoured to give a rhythmical aspect to my translations. Poetry is at best indifferently represented by bald prose, but in attempting a metrical version I have confined myself as nearly as possible to the structure of the original, both in the versification and also in the metrical structure.

Whatever sacrifices under these somewhat stringent rules I may have been compelled to make of mere verbal accuracy are, I trust, more than compensated in the result of giving a true exemplification of the structure and general meaning of the original.

Mr. Kingsmill continued his lecture by reading several metrical translations from the *Shiking*, intended to throw light on the myths as well as the manners and customs of the Cheo tribes at the time the various ballads were composed. He commenced with a ballad translated into English verse, referring to How Tsik, god of increase, one of the great deities of the race, whom he identified in many particulars with the corresponding Vedic deity Daksha; pointing out the resemblances in functions as well as name, the latter being fundamental and not accidental. He then read his metrical rendering of the ballad of *Fangshuk*, pointing out his connection with the *Yao* of the *Shu*, the *Varuna* of the *Vedas*, and the *Ouranos* of the early Greek Pantheon. This was followed by notes, also with a metrical version, of the ballad of *Szeyin*, the Hermes of the Chinese Myth, and also a spring-song addressed to the Vedettes, *Alpha and Beta Arietis*, a practice which he showed reached from China to ancient Athens; where the orientation of the Asclepium had been recently shown to have been determined by the helical rising of this constellation.

With some notes, accompanied by metrical renderings of some of the ballads relating to the old practice of wife-capture, still in vogue amongst the early settlers in China, which we give below, the lecture closed.

The following was the conclusion of Mr. Kingsmill's paper :—

THE BRIDE-CHASE.

But the ballads of the *Shi* are not always mythological, and sometimes throw curious side-lights on the manners and customs of the ancient Cheos. The traces of a former exogamy, and its natural accompaniment, marriage by capture, are still apparent in Chinese customs. A man, it is well known, cannot marry a woman of his own surname, but must wed out of his clan. He is not permitted to woo in person, but must perforce employ the services of a marriage broker. Finally, the most marked feature of the ceremony is the visit of the groom's friends and relations to the home of the bride, whence they escort her as a prisoner to her husband's home. In the period of the *Shiking*, marriage by capture, even when the woman was willing, was the rule. I quote the *T'sioh Ch'ao*: "The Magpies' Nest" [*Shi*, I, II, 1].

In yonder nest the magpie dwells,
The dove must be his mate;
His chosen bride, to share his home,
A hundred chariots wait.

In yonder nest the magpie dwells,
The dove his lot must share;
His chosen bride to her new home
A hundred chariots bear.

In yonder nest the magpie dwells;
The dove, a bride forlorn,
To her new home, to her new cares,
The chariots home have borne.

A more explicit instance we find in the *Chen pi Loh* [*Shi*, II, VI, 10]. I give only the concluding verses :—

Bright as the flowers at dawn bedewed,
With gold and silver decked,
His love all unawares he viewed!
Four speckled steeds, with harness flecked,
And reins fresh moistened, gaily dressed
His nimble fingers deftly pressed.

Now right, now left, his chariot hies,
Our prince has neared her side ;
Now left, now right, the lady flies.—
Our prince has won his bride ;
Her veil he holds. Ah, lucky fate !
Like bride—like prince ; how well they mate.

The reader, accustomed to take on credit the views of the modern Chinese commentator or teacher, misses not only the essential points, but the inner beauties and quaint humour of many of these ballads. I have mentioned that the marriage broker points to the former existence of the bride-chase. The following ballad, the *Fah Ko* [*Shi*, I, XV, 5], which is usually quoted as a proof of the long continued existence of the present practice, is really evidence to the contrary. When writing down the ballad from oral declamation, the scribe for 某 or 謀 *Plot, strategem,* introduced the radical 女 woman, making it 媒 a go-between, an offshoot of the same root *mil,* to meet together, assemble, concur.

Here is the ballad at length :—

THE LOVER AND THE WOODMAN.

Who wants a helve to hew,
What should he do?
Without an axe 'tis plain
His labour's all in vain.

Who seeks a wife to wed,
How best proceed?
Unless of craft h'avail,
Fair words are sure to fail.

Hew out the helve my man ;
Hew as you can !
That hint you dropped to-day
Has not been thrown away.

Let me but get one glance,
I'll take my chance ;
Once I've the lady spied,
The knot's as good as tied,

One more, and I am done. The *Chen pi Loh* suggests that the lady was not always unwilling to be captured. Such things happen all the world over. Schuyler tells very similar tales amongst the Kirghiz of to-day [Turkestan, Vol. 1, p. 47], and Cheo damsels were as their sisters elsewhere, who "vowing they would ne'er consent, consented."

Here is the *How jen*: "The Bashful Lovers" [*Shi*, I, XIV, 2].

What a squad of young squires in dainty gear,
Got up to kill with halbert and spear!
Such guys of lovers, who ever did see,
Their three hundred red kirtles docked at the knee?

Like rows of pelicans tied by a string,
Not one of the crowd dares moisten his wing!
A sad lot of lovers they look; alack!
Not worth the fine togs they carry aback!

Like a squad of great pelicans perched on a sill,
Not one has the spunk to open his bill!
Fine lovers indeed! while *we*, maidens gay,
Are lusty and strong and fit for the fray!

And the grass is smooth, and the mist lies still,
And the sun creeps over yon southern hill;
And we girls are fresh, and the air is keen,
As we scamper off through the woodlands green.

Dr. Edkins dissented from some of the conclusions of the Paper, and several other members of the Society took part in the discussion, after which, with a vote of thanks to Mr. Kingsmill, the meeting was adjourned.

COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1897-98.

Shanghai, 22nd June 1898.

The Council of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society presents the following report for the year just closed.

1.—*The Council.*—The office-bearers elected at the annual meeting of the Society held June 30th, 1897, were :—

Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff, *President;* Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., Mr. Jas. Scott, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. E. Fisher, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. T. W. Wright, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. A. Vosy-Bourbon, *Hon. Curator;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Rev. E. Faber, D.Th., Rev. J. R. Hykes, Mr. F. E. Taylor, *Councillors.*

Owing to the removal of Mr. von Möllendorff to Ningpo, he resigned the Presidency early in the year, and Mr. Geo. Jamieson, C.M.G., was elected to the vacancy.

Mr. A. Vosy-Bourbon was also called from Shanghai, leaving the post of Hon. Curator vacant, to which Dr. R. H. Cox was elected on 23rd March 1898. We regret that the removal of Dr. E. Faber to Kiaochow will deprive us of his valuable counsel during the coming year.

2.—*Members.*—The following new members in all have been elected during the year:—Hon. R. F. Pettigrew, Washington, D.C.; Mr. G. H. Eichelberger, Shanghai; Mr. Narahara, Peking; Rev. E. Box, Rev. F. H. James, Hon. Jno. Goodnow, Shanghai; Dr. Gruebe, Peking; Dr. Main, M. D., Hangchow; Rev. C. White, Foochow; Messrs. R. H. Cox, M.D.,

R. Holbritter, Johs. Grodtmann, Hermann Wolff, Shanghai; Mr. Pierre Bons d'Anty, Szemao; Mr. W. J. Clennell, Shasi; Captain W. W. Rich, Shanghai; Major E. von Falkenhayn, Tsintao; Mr. R. C. Guernier, I.M. Customs; Mr. Walter Fell, Shanghai; Mr. Byron Brenan, C.M.G.; Mr. P. P. P. M. Kremir; Prince Sampatrao Gaikwad, Hon. Member.

3.—*Meetings.*—Six meetings open to the public have been held during the year, at which papers were read, as follows:—

November 29th, 1897.—The Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tangut, its Money and Peculiar Script, by Dr. Bushell, read by Dr. Edkins.

January 19th, 1898.—The Limitations of Comparative Philology, by P. G. von Möllendorff, Esq.

February 16th.—A Manchu Ukase, by M. F. A. Fraser, Esq.; and Some Myths of the Shiking, by T. W. Kingsmill, Esq.

March 9th.—The Ethics of the Chinese Sages, by the Rev. F. H. James.

April 6th.—Sealing and Whaling in the North Pacific, by E. Brass, Esq.

May 12th.—Ancient Chinese Thought, Political and Religious, by Rev. J. Edkins, D.D.

4.—*The Journal.*—One fascicule, No. 3, completing Vol. XXIX, was issued during the year, and one other, No. 2, Vol. XXX, is almost ready, but we are still far behindhand. A large number of valuable papers are awaiting publication, and it is very desirable that some method be devised for the issue of the journal promptly and at more regular intervals. Many complaints have been received during the year with regard to this matter.

5.—*Officers' Reports.*—The Reports which are to be presented by the Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Librarian will exhibit the condition of the treasury and call attention to the improvements made in the library. The Hon. Curator having been in charge of the Museum but a few weeks will not submit a report. We regret that his approaching departure from Shanghai is to deprive us of his valuable services. The Museum is still in an unsatisfactory condition from

lack of funds for its care. We are sorry to report that the Municipal Council declined our request for an additional grant.

For the Council,

E. T. WILLIAMS,
Hon. Secretary.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

Shanghai, 29th June 1898.

GENTLEMEN,

I herewith have the honour to submit to you the following report concerning the Library for 1897 and 1898.

The number of works and books which were added to the Library since publishing the Catalogue in 1894, including the great number of Proceedings of Learned Societies, etc., which filled our shelves with a great many new volumes, necessitated new arrangements in our Library.

Mr. Ha Hing, who is now in charge of the Library, assisted in all the new arrangements which were made. An Addendum of the Volumes received since publishing our last Catalogue, Part I in 1894, is now in the hands of Messrs. Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., for printing, and will be published in the next Journal; also the Catalogue, Part II, "Museum," a manuscript of the late Hon. Librarian, Mr. J. Haas, which was found after long research, has been handed to the printers.

The new arrangements in our Library have involved great expense during the last year, and there will be still a further large outlay during the coming year for the binding of some hundred volumes, which have accumulated within the last few years.

To keep up the standard of our Library the Council will have to undertake the purchase of several valuable scientific works which have been published during the last few years regarding China and the Far East.

I have to express the thanks of the Society to those who have kindly given donations to this Library during the current year, and the Council will appreciate very much should its aim of having a complete set of scientific works about the Far East be recognised by authors donating copies of their works to this Library. I only beg to mention that we have been much gratified by receiving quite recently a very extensive publication of 44 Volumes comprising the "Report on the Scientific Results of the Voyage of H.M.S. 'Challenger' during the years 1872-1876," published by order of H.B.M.'s Government and presented through H.B.M.'s Stationery Office.

I have the honour to remain,
Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,
EMIL S. FISCHER.

COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1898-1899.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the Society's Hall, on Wednesday, June 29th, 1898, at 9 p.m.

The chair was taken by Mr. BYRON BRENAN, C.M.G. (President).

The minutes of the last meeting having been read and confirmed, the Hon. Secretary then presented and read the various reports of the year, which were as follows :—

COUNCIL'S REPORT.

1.—*The Council.*—The office-bearers, elected at the Annual Meeting of the Society, held June 29th, 1897, were :—

Mr. Byron Brenan, C.M.G., *President;* Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., Rev. T. Richard, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. T. W. Wright, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. E. S. Fischer, *Hon. Librarian;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Mr. F. E. Taylor, Dr. O. Franke, Dr. Jur., Rev. F. H. James and Mr. Tsêng, *Councillors.*

The post of Hon. Curator to the Museum was left vacant as the Council at that time was unable to find anyone who was willing to take it. Subsequently, at a Meeting of the Council held 2nd September 1898, Prof. E. R. Lyman, having given his consent, was elected to the office.

At the same meeting Mr. E. S. Fischer presented his resignation as Hon. Librarian, made necessary by his approaching departure for home. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded him in recognition of his valuable services, particularly in re-arranging the library and completing the supplement to its catalogue.

Dr. O. Franke was elected to succeed him, and served until 5th April 1899, when he felt compelled, by pressure of other duties, to resign. The Council accepted his resignation with regret, and Mr. C. Fink was elected in his stead. Two Councillors, Rev. F. H. James and Mr. Tsêng, removed during the year to Peking.

2.—*Members.*—During the past twelve months the following new members were elected:—Mr. A. Hauchecorne, Shanghai; Vicomte de Breteuil, Peking; Mr. R. S. Gale, Prof. E. R. Lyman, Shanghai; Mr. Tsêng, Peking; Dr. S. P. Barchet, M.D., Mr. Sam Wakefield, Dr. H. Betz, Mr. Fung Yee, Rev. R. E. Lewis, Mr. C. Fink, Mr. C. McCallum, Mr. F. Hussay-Freke, Mr. P. Bournais, Shanghai; Mr. J. Houston, Hangchow; Rev. M. N. Trollope, Chemulpo, Korea; Dr. J. A. Lynch, M.D., Chinkiang, and Mr. Otto Messing, Shanghai.

Messrs. P. E. O'Brien-Butler and Leonard Lyall were, on April 5th, 1899, elected Life Members, and on June 7th, 1899, Mr. C. T. Gardner, C.M.G., was made a Corresponding Member. Five members have resigned:—Dr. E. Henderson, M.D., Mr. Gustav Kremsir, Mr. J. B. Coughtrie, Mr. N. P. Andersen and Mr. S. Rosenbaum; leaving the present membership as follows:—Honorary Protector, 1; Honorary Members, 5; Corresponding Members, 21; Ordinary Members, 243; Total, 270.

3.—*Meetings.*—There have been eight public meetings of the Society during the year, at which papers were read, as follows:—

October 12th, 1898.— Local Folklore, by Rev. E. Box.

November 16th, 1898.—Chinese Music, by Mrs. T. Richard.

December 14th, 1898.—Chinese Literature, by Rev. F. H. James.

January 11th, 1899.—The Office of District Magistrate, by Mr. Byron Brenan, C.M.G.

April 5th.—The Philosophy of the Taoteh King in its Relation to Early Buddhism, by Mr. T. W. Kingsmill.

May 3rd.—State Education in Japan, by Rev. R. E. Lewis.

June 28th.—The Recent Visit of a Chinese Buddhist Monk to India, by Rev. J. Edkins, D.D.

4.—*The Journal.*—Two fascicules of the Journal were issued during the year,—Nos. 2 and 3 of Vol. XXX, the former containing "Chinese Revenue," Part II, by Mr. E. H. Parker; "The Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tangut, their Money and Peculiar Script," by S. W. Bushell, C.M.G., M.D.; "A Manchu Ukase," by Mr. M. F. A. Fraser; Notes and Queries and Correspondence. The latter contains the Supplementary Catalogue to the Library. The Journal is still far in arrears. There is a large number of valuable papers on hand unpublished, and much complaint has been made of dilatoriness. Some manuscripts have been withdrawn, and the authors of some papers have preferred to publish elsewhere. This is greatly to be regretted. Much of the delay has been occasioned by frequent changes in the Editorial Committee, and not a little is due to the time consumed in the preparation of the Supplementary Catalogue of the Library. It is hoped that in the coming year the Journal may be brought up to date. One other fascicule is now in the press and will shortly appear.

5.—*Miscellaneous.*—The Council has held eight meetings for the transaction of routine business.

Among other things done, correspondence was had with the I.M. Customs Service relative to the establishment of a Commercial Museum at Shanghai, the use of our own hall being offered for that purpose. So far the effort has been unsuccessful.

Further correspondence was had with the Municipal Council of Shanghai, urging that body to assist in engaging a paid Assistant Curator for the Museum, but the proposition was definitely declined. Permission was granted Rev. Geo. W. Clarke, of Tientsin, to reprint in England his translation of the *Yü Li*. Acceptance was acknowledged of two volumes by Dr. E. Bretschneider on "European Botanical Researches in China," and a case of maps by the same, presented to the Library by the author.

Additional cases have been provided for the Library, which is now in better condition than for some years past. Further details will be found in the report of the Hon. Librarian. The financial condition of the Society will be seen from the report of the Hon. Treasurer

to be fairly good, and the report of the Hon. Curator will inform us as to the Museum.

On behalf of the Council,

E. T. WILLIAMS,
Hon. Secretary.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to submit to you the following report concerning the Library for 1898–1899.

In view of the considerable number of scientific works—mostly publications and proceedings of learned societies, which have enriched our Library—it will be found necessary to arrange for a further large shelf, providing, at the same time, for some space, sure to be required ere long.

I may state that the course of the present year has brought out also the long waited for additions to our catalogue, which can be found in the last issue of our Journal.

To those members of the Society, who have contributed to its compilation, our sincere thanks are due. I may point out that, during the year, many very valuable books dealing with China, and others containing important geographical information, have appeared, some of which ought absolutely to figure in our collection to uphold the standard of the Society, and it is earnestly hoped that in the ensuing year means may be found for bringing the Library to a yet higher efficiency.

I would ask the Society to convey their special thanks to Mr. J. D. Clark, of the *Shanghai Mercury*, who kindly and generously presented our Branch with all those publications of his establishment which were not yet contained in the Library. Our shelves have thereby received 45 additional volumes.

During the greater part of last year Mr. E. S. Fischer ably conducted the affairs of the Library. In the first few months of

the present year Dr. Franke, First Interpreter of the Imperial German Consulate-General, kindly took charge. The undersigned only took the post about two months ago, when he tried to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors, who so ably fulfilled their duties.

C. FINK,
Hon. Librarian.

Shanghai, 28th June 1899.

HON. CURATOR'S REPORT.

During the year the Museum has been open to the public every day, and the number of Chinese visitors has been uniformly large; in fact, it seemed at one time that it would be necessary to restrict the visiting in some way. This, however, has not been done and it may not be necessary.

With the exception of several birds there have been no additions to the collections since I took charge.

The collections under the care of the taxidermist have not been allowed to suffer from neglect, and are in very good order.

During the following year I expect to take steps to get the co-operation of all the foreigners in China in adding to the collections of the Museum. Plans have been made for obtaining a classified collection of the fishes of this region. By asking all foreigners to co-operate it is hoped that we shall be able to make considerable additions to our collections of birds and mammals and also minerals.

But these plans will look better as a report than as a prospectus, so I shall not go into them further but shall hope to be able to report substantial progress at the end of another year. The Museum has apparently fallen from the notice of residents in China. It shall be my endeavour next year to get people interested to the extent of aiding in adding to the usefulness and interest of the collections of the Museum.

Very Respectfully,
E. R. LYMAN,
Hon. Curator.

BALANCE SHEET

Dr. *30th April 1898 to 31st May 1899.* *Cr.*

INCOME.	Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Tls.	cts.
To Balance, on 1st June 1898	552	43	*By* Wages Account	208	88
„ Members' Subscriptions	365	73	„ Insurance Account	59	40
„ Life Members' „	111	...	„ Taxes	43	64
„ Hire of Room	74	86	„ Gas and Coal	74	01
„ Rent of Building	250	...	„ Publishing Account	421	39
„ Sales of Publications	190	20	„ Postage and Stationery	92	42
„ Interest on Current Account	30	31	„ New Fixtures and Repairs	203	60
			„ Bookbinding	173	85
			„ Advertising	82	10
			„ Sundries	10	39
			„ Shroff, for collecting (2 years)	15	...
			„ Loss by Exchange	...	51
			Taels	1,385	19
			„ Balance	189	34
Taels	1,574	53	Taels	1,574	53

E. & O. E.

Compared with vouchers and found correct, 23rd June 1899. SHANGHAI, *23rd June 1899.*

A. W. DANFORTH.
J. W. RICHARDSON.

T. W. WRIGHT,
Hon. Treasurer.

Dr. MUSEUM. *Cr.*

INCOME.		Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.		Tls.	cts.
To Balance on 1st June 1898		1,064	92	*By* Wages Account		307	50
„ Grant from English Municipal Council... ...		500	...	„ Interest on Loan		25	...
„ Donation: French Municipal Council		100	...	„ Birds' eyes		36	78
„ Work done by Taxidermist		131	02	„ Rent of Building		250	...
				„ Sundries		34	36
					Tls.	653	64
				„ Balance		1,142	30
	Taels	1,795	94		Tls.	1,795	94

E. & O. E.

Compared with vouchers and found correct, 23rd June 1899. SHANGHAI, *23rd June 1899.*

A. W. DANFORTH.
J. W. RICHARDSON.

T. W. WRIGHT,
Hon. Treasurer.

On motion of the Hon. Secretary a vote of thanks was extended to Messrs. A. W. Danforth and J. A. Richardson for their services in auditing the accounts.

The following officers were elected for next year:—

Mr. F. S. A. Bourne, *President;* Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., Rev. T. Richard, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. E. T. Williams, M.A., *Hon. Secretary;* Mr. T. W. Wright, *Hon. Treasurer;* Mr. C. Fink, *Hon. Librarian;* Prof. E. R. Lyman, *Hon. Curator;* Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Mr. F. E. Taylor, Mr. C. W. Campbell and Mr. L. A. Lyall, *Councillors.*

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Dr. Edkins to read his paper on "The Recent Visit of a Chinese Buddhist Monk to India." The paper, which was a very interesting one, noted the fewness of Buddhist pilgrims to the holy land of their faith, as compared with Christian pilgrims from Europe and America to Palestine. He mentioned, however, the visits of a number of Chinese monks at various times to India, particularly that of Fah Hien and his companions in the year 399 A.D., just 1,500 years earlier than that of Hwui Kung, the monk of whom he was particularly to speak.

There was an important difference, however, between these two parties, as Fah Hien and his companions went particularly to recover sacred books and to visit the places made holy by the life of Gautauma Buddha, while Hwui Kung's object was to raise money for the improvement of the temples on P'u-t'o, and to secure images to be placed in them. He described Hwui Kung as a very interesting man, who had travelled much in Buddhist countries, and who had undertaken this journey in obedience to the orders of his Abbot, who had been urged to the enterprise by the Taotai of Ningpo. Three years had been occupied in the journey, the greater part of it spent at Oudh, near Benares, in whose quarries the images were carved. He had had but little time to visit other points, and seemed to know nothing of the recent discoveries of the Buddha's birthplace and the site of Kapilavastu. The images are made of a very pure white marble, and the three principal ones are on exhibition at Woosung. These are of Amitabha, Kwan-ying,

and the "Reclining" Buddha. They lose somewhat of interest, however, when we learn that they are not true specimens of Hindoo art, but were made to order for Hwui Kung, who had designs drawn according to Chinese ideas, and who watched the sculptor at his work and directed him.

They are richly decorated with jewels and tinsel, the monk claiming that the jewels are real, though, aside from a few garnets, they are more likely mere imitations. Hwui Kung stated the cost of two to be some Tls. 10,000. To others he mentioned $20,000 as the cost of the three now on exhibition. We learn that Sheng Taotai is anxious to have the images kept at Woosung, as a large number of Chinese daily visit them, which is quite profitable to the railway.

At the close of the paper there was a brief discussion, participated in by Mr. F. E. Taylor, Mr. F. S. A. Bourne, Rev. T. Richard, Mr. V. Dent and others, and the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the learned lecturer, and an expression of good wishes for a pleasant vacation for the retiring President, who is about to leave for home.

NOTES ON THE *TAOTEH KING*.

The following is a précis of Mr. Kingsmill's notes read before the Society, April 12th, 1899.

Mr. KINGSMILL followed up some notes on the subject of this book which had appeared in the *China Review* [vol. xxiii, p. 265, *et. seq.*] by pointing out the compound nature of that work. This had been proved by Professor H. A. Giles as long ago as 1886 [*China Review*, vol xiv., p. 231, *et. seq.*]. The chapters in most cases begin with a text copied from Hwai Nautsze or Han Feitsze, generally introduced by the formula 老子曰, at best an indefinite phrase by no means necessarily implying any particular individual. There is in fact no trustworthy evidence of the existence of an individual bearing the very un-Chinese name of Laotsze, and from the form and the doctrines contained, which were essentially Indian, he felt constrained to attribute its composition to a time subsequent to the opening of intercourse with India. The form itself is evidently founded on that of the Indian Sutras as described by Professor Max Müller [*History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, p. 71], and was remarkable for its artificial obscurity, which from the beginning, as the corresponding works in India, required a running commentary. Professor Giles has fortunately in every case given the original authority for the quotation, and with the light thus thrown on the subject, and the clues given, it is in the majority of cases just possible to get an inkling of what was passing in the writer's mind.

The *Taoteh King* really owed its origin to that period when Buddhism was the prevailing religion in India, but a Buddhism in many respects different from the later development. Gautama, it was to be remembered, was no opponent, as his later followers became, of Hinduism. His whole life and training was Brahmanic, and he doubtless considered himself the most correct exponent of that faith.

In this respect the *Taoteh King* was essentially Buddhistic. Tao, the WAY (Marga) to Nirvâna (*Wuwei* of the author) was absolutely a Buddhist conception, and so was the Karma (成功) of the writer,—the *merit* attained during previous existence. "This is the doctrine that as soon as a sentient being dies (man, animal or angel), a new being is produced in a more or less painful and material state of existence, according to the Karma,—the desert or merit, of the being who had died. . . . Sensations originate in the contact of the organs of sense with the exterior world; from sensation springs a desire to satisfy a felt want, a yearning, a thirst (in the *Taoteh King* 欲, *yuk*, desire) from which results a groping after objects to satisfy that desire. . . . 'Be awake, shake off your illusion, and enter resolutely on the Path which will lead you away from those restless tossing waves of the ocean of life;—the Path [in the *Taoteh King* 道 Tao] of the Joy, and Rest of the Nirvâna of Wisdom and Goodness and Peace.'" This, quoted from Rhys David's *Buddhism*, p. 85, is the foundation of the ethical teaching of the *Taoteh King*. But mixed with this high ethical strain there are many unmistakable allusions to the Sankya philosophy of the Indians.

Out of primeval matter, 譩, was developed nature, 天地, and out of nature were born, 生, all things. But nature was made up of three constituent principles, the *Gunas-Sattva*, goodness or purity (Chinese 德); passion, or activity, *rajas* (Ch. 欲 *yuk*); and darkness or inertia, *tamas* (Ch. 淡 *tam*), the last of which was apparently a word imported for the occasion. The interaction of these two schools, which seems to have presented little difficulty to the Hindu mind, was evidently received in a similar spirit by the author of the book, and may account for part of the obscurity of thought and diction which, after the most careful consideration of the text, I have at times found it impossible to rectify.

It will be seen that none of my predecessors had access to the whole of the field. Mr. Giles, from his intimate knowledge of the older Chinese philosophers, has been able to trace most of the

aphorisms which form the texts of the various chapters to their original sources. While having a general tendency, they are eminently disconnected. The author of the work attempted to bind these together by a running commentary. He was markedly unsuccessful. First he himself was seldom able to grasp the meanings of the older writers; secondly he was but partially acquainted with the spirit of the older Buddhistic schools of India, and thirdly the "telegraphic" style, which in imitation of his Indian prototypes he essayed, besides being eminently unfitted for the purpose, was beyond the grasp of his genius.

The character of the work may be well seen in the first chapter, the opening of which contains the pith of the whole book, and is quoted from Han Feitsze, a philosopher whose life is attributed to the 3rd century B.C.

"*The way that may be traversed is not the Eternal WAY. The name which can be uttered is not the Eternal NAME.*

"Without name.—Heaven and Earth [Nature] at the beginning were called the mother of all things. Thus it always is that [he who is] without passion can grasp the inner essence, while [he who is blinded] by passion can only apprehend the outer form. These two have really the same issue, and differ only in name. Together they are spoken of as the First Cause. The cause of the First Cause itself is the gateway of the Essential."

The history of the work is obscure. Beyond these occasional allusions to the shadowy "laotsze," a favourite trick with the early writers, especially Chwangtsze, who never scruples to point his moral by attributing his parables to some imaginary being, we actually know nothing of a teacher called by the remarkably un-Chinese name of "Laotsze." The *Shi Ki* indeed speaks of him, but in such guarded terms that, reading between the lines, it can be readily perceived that the writer was more than sceptical of his personality. At all events we hear nothing of the work till, towards the latter end of the Han dynasty, the work was "discovered," one of the last of a long series of forgeries, professing to be "findings" in odd places of literature, which the subsidised

scholars of the Hans would have us believe existed prior to the "Burning of the Books" by Shi Hwangti. Most of the works thus "discovered" under the influence of high rewards in an uncritical age have disappeared, but a few remaining, *e.g.* the *Bamboo History*, the *Shanhai King*, etc., still exist to show us the barefaced nature of the imposition. In translating the *Taoteh King* the principal difficulty consists in the highly artificial nature of the work, and occasionally its attempted archæisms. The former, as I have shown, is in direct imitation of the Indian style, which the compiler took for his model. The latter is common to writers of all ages in China. In the *Taoteh King* the differences between the older quotations and the text of the anonymous author are very marked, the latter being, from their affected style, occasionally incapable of being literally translated. This probably accounts for failures such as those of Julien, Chalmers and Legge, not to speak of pretenders, such as Balfour and others.

A careful study of its contents and a comparison with the contemporary remains of Indian philosophy will, however, convince the student not only of its late date, probably late in the 2nd century A.D., but that the *Taoteh King* is one of the few remains existing of primitive Buddhism. Suppression of self was the root of the teaching of Gautama. For him existed no God, no future, no past; only the illimitable and eternal Marga,—the PATH, the WAY to the extinction of Nirvâna.

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